

**EARLY BUDDHIST
JURISPRUDENCE**
(THERAVĀDA VINAYA-LAWS)

By

MISS DURGA N. BHAGVAT, M.A.

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Printed by Mr J M Mabimker B A at his Hind Printing Works
Opp Kandewadi BEST Sub Station Girgaum Bombay
and
Published by Dr S R Sardesai
Oriental Book Agency
13 Shukrawar Peth Poona 2

THERAVĀDA VINAYA-LAWS

FOREWORD.

It is now sixty years since Hermann Oldenberg gave what has since become the standard edition of the Pali Vinaya. He also gave an analysis of the outstanding questions that were suggested by the texts, but it is remarkable that very little investigation has been since done from the Pali point of view. Hence it is a pleasure to welcome the renewed study which has been devoted to the subject by Miss D Bhagvat. This too starts from the Pali, and nothing could be better for laying the foundations than a more thorough penetration into the nature of the tradition than Oldenberg was able to give. The limitations and qualifications that have to be made with regard to Oldenberg's conclusions rest upon the fact that he had to depend almost entirely upon the Ceylon sources. It is true that he recognized that the Theravada was only one school among many, and that he held that first of all the Chinese translations of the Vinaya-literature of the several Buddhist schools must be examined in detail. Nevertheless, this has not yet been done, although the researches of French and Russian scholars have furnished us with additional materials both in Sanskrit and Chinese. So far, however, these have led to divergent views about the earliest history of Buddhism, and the problems are doubtless too complex to be settled at one stroke. Miss Bhagvat's work will be welcomed if it should receive a scholarly interest and carry the investigations a further stage to completion.

JAN. 14, 1939
Cambridge

F. J. THOMAS

PREFACE

This little book is the revised edition of my thesis submitted for the Master's Degree to the University of Bombay. It is the limited and modest purpose of the book to state in a brief and simple way a number of facts which fall within the scope of the laws framed by the early Buddhists for the guidance of the inmates of the Buddhist fraternity. I have attempted to systematize the material on a scientific basis without damaging the spirit of the original texts.

Compared to the enormous literature that has been produced by eminent scholars on the philosophical, ethical or social aspects of Buddhism, little has been written on Buddhist monachism, and in all the works devoted to the subject it is the historical and religious aspects that have mostly absorbed the interest of the scholars¹. The legal aspect however, has so far receded into the background and deserves more comprehensive treatment and careful research as it is the laws that chiefly regulated the life of the inmates of the fraternity. And unless the laws are properly understood the study of Buddhist monachism will remain incomplete. It is not also less interesting to have a comparison between modern legal system and that adapted by the Buddhists in those early days. The contributions of these ancient jurists are valuable as can be easily seen from the various legal methods they employed to judge a case.

¹Cf Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, *Introduction to Vinaya Texts* (S. B. E.)

I am conscious of the fact that some passages in the book as those devoted to sexual topics might seem objectionable to a conventional reader. Of the five Pali canonical books, only two (and those too of a secondary legal importance) have been so far translated in English (Cf. Vinaya Texts S B E) and there too the authors have left a number of 'vulgar' passages untranslated. Other authors also have avoided any discussion on the topic so far. However, as my subject is purely legal and as sexual offences were not only regarded the gravest transgressions but also occupy a considerable portion of the original texts I would not have been justified as student of law and sociology if I ignored them. On the contrary, the sex-habits of the people in ancient India are so amazing and unique that I felt it necessary to analyse the facts as they are without dropping any detail. Nowhere else in ancient Indian literature do we come across such bold records and detailed information about the unnatural sexual practices like homosexuality or offences against the dead. Such practices however, were not universal and were always condemned by all law givers. Most of such offences were an outcome of the forced celibate life, and as such afford a very good comparison to some of the famous records of monastic life in the Western world. The records about women are much more interesting for a sociologist and shocking for a conventional reader, who is accustomed to see Hindu women as models of chastity and purity. My appeal to such readers is that the study of law implies an investigation not in the bright avenues of virtue but in the dark and shady nooks, where only the down trodden and sinful humanity is expected to be

I An inquiry into race is never a happy task,

though inevitable for a researcher as well as a social worker

I am thankful to the University of Bombay for giving me substantial financial grant towards the publication of the book

I am deeply indebted to Dr E J Thomas, M A, D Litt not only for going through the manuscript and giving me most valuable suggestions but also for writing a foreword at a great sacrifice of his time I thank my teacher, Rev Fr H Heras S J, for guidance I am thankful to Dr G S Ghurye, M A, Ph D for criticism and also to Prof N K Bhagvat, M A, for helping me in various ways

D N BHAGVAT

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Chapters	Page
Introduction	1-vi
I Early Monachism	1-17
II. The Analysis of the Vinaya Laws	18-40
III The Origin and Nature of the Vinaya Laws	41 63
IV The Evolution of the Vinaya Laws	64-82
V Promulgation of the Vinaya Laws	83-91
VI Jurisprudence under the Vinaya	92-116
VII Patimokkha and the Fortnightly Meetings	117-122
VIII The Administration of the Vinaya in the Sangha	123-157
IX. Woman under the Vinaya	158-190
X. Bibliography	192-204
Index	1-vii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

- 1) The Bhikkhu
- 2) Exhortation of the Bhikkhus.
- 3) Map—Ancient India—Buddhist Monastic Centres.
- 4) Map—The Buddhist World (Asia)

INTRODUCTION.

It is often said that God has created man free but man by his peculiar attachment for society has created for himself a voluntary bondage for which he has since times immemorial risked even his individual freedom. Even in a country like ancient India where individual liberty was rated above everything else in the realm of theology and where for the satisfaction of the intellectual craving for the Highest Self (Atman or Brahman) men had often torn themselves from society and fled to the seclusion of the woods the tendency of living an associated life has not grown less strong. In the Vedic times the Aryans lived a thorough clan life all affairs and troubles arising through such a life being settled in the assemblies.

In the Brahmana period the theologians came into close contact with one another through the Yajnas and Brahmodyas. It was at this time there were some men whose thirst for a higher type of knowledge was not quenched with the hackneyed theories of the Brahmanas and they detached themselves from society, settled in the secluded spots of the forests and experimented on their theories through meditation and ascetic practices thus improving a good deal on the Vedic ideal of meditation.

But even now the Man was not satisfied. Even amidst the dense woods he sought the company of his colleagues who were interested in the same kind of problems and led the same sort of secluded life. Associated life became once more the natural background of his mental and physical activities the result of which was soon accomplished in the

form of the Forest Treaties (*Āraṇyakas*) the best type of ascetic literature produced by ancient man

Henceforward whether in the forest or in the world associated life was not shunned by the Indian recluse though he still claimed the craving for an isolated life and an utter disgust for the world. We see, from the *Pitakas* and *Nikayas* that in the sixth century B. C. corporate life was in vogue in the recluse world and that it was governed by a body of its own unwritten and uncoded laws.

Amidst these various groups of ascetics, a body of recluses rose gradually to prominence and soon became the chief centre of attraction not only in the recluse world but in the world at large, for several years. This was the *Sangha* the cosmopolitan and the democratic *Sangha* of *Sakyamuni*. The laws of the *Sangha* were the social contract by which individuals lost their natural liberty and an unlimited right to anything which tempted them and which they were able to attain. On the other hand what they gained was 'social liberty,' which they utilised in minimizing the grievances of the majority and controlling the unruly characters by means of legal coercion and maintaining a balance in the associated life of the *Sangha*.

This idea of social liberty being rooted in the very nature of the *Sangha* raised it above other contemporary religious associations and acquired for it the dignity of a republican state. The Buddhist *Sangha* even in its primitive stage contained some of the most modern principles

which make a state worthy of its name¹ Like every state it was 'divisible into a body of persons issuing orders' (like the Buddha, Sariputta, Moggallana or some such persons who were authorized by the Sangha from time to time to issue directions for the guidance of the Bhikkhus) and a 'body of persons receiving them and presumably acting upon them'² (In the Buddhist Sangha the latter half of the duties were fulfilled not by some few individuals, but by each and every individual.) The Sangha was also guided by that notion of justice which according to Plato is 'the right of ordering human relationship' It involves the view that 'each citizen (in the case of the Sangha each inmate) has an equal claim on the common good in respect of equal needs, and the corollary implied therein is that differences in response to claims are differences that the common good itself requires' This means in simpler language, that all legal matters were settled in the Sangha, not through the interference of a supreme authority, but through the appeal to the whole body of the inmates regarding their idea of the common good Thus no individual was crushed under the wheel of law nor was any individual vested with supreme authority All stood on the same level and the Sangha ruled over them

¹Laski, in '*Law and Politics*' (p. 143) says 'We are seeking to visualize a state in which the individual citizen is entitled to an effective voice in collective decision Admittedly of course, the power he can have is limited by the inherent needs of large scale organization But it ought still to mean that the ordinary man can help to select his rules and to get himself elected if he can'

²*Ibid* p. 24

The existence of corporation gives rise to an interesting juridical problem. The social compact gives only existence and life to the body politic, legislation naturally springing out of it, endows it with movement and will.¹ The main purport of the body of such rules is the preservation of the institution.

The Buddhist Sangha also gave rise to a body of laws, which were codified under the Patimokkha.

An objection might be raised as to whether the Vinaya or Patimokkha can be called laws in the proper sense of the term. Can they not be conveniently called the valid rules of a private body as well? The answer to this question is not far to seek. We have already shown that though the Buddhist Sangha developed out of a common ascetic society, it had obtained a peculiar dignity only to be found in a republican state. No doubt, it being primarily a religious body its outlook on life as well as the aim of such associated life differed from that of a political state. Together with the principles of justice etc., the pure, undisturbed happiness of the mind was the supreme ethical goal of the Bhikkhu who took resort in the Sangha.² Still the laws of the Vinaya can claim all the dignity and prestige of jurisprudence, as far as the Sangha, and the relations of the Sangha to the state were concerned. The laws of the Vinaya had also the sanction of the state, wherein lies the validity of all laws. Kautilya tells us that the laws of a Sangha and Kula were binding on the king, and he had to inflict punishment on those who broke them.³ Yājñavalkya

¹Rousseau, *Social Contract*, p. 131.

²*Majjhima-Nikaya, Vatthupama Sutta*

³*Kautilya's Arthashastra*, III, 10.

says that a king must needs pay heed to the customs and rules of private corporations like Śreni, Naigama, Gana etc¹. The Chinese traveller, I-tsing informs us that once a person entered the Sangha, his name was no longer to be found in the register of the state, henceforward the Sangha was fully authorised to tackle all problems issuing through his misbehaviour or the difficulties he encountered. The authority of the Sangha as sanctioned by the state is also proved by an episode in the Vinaya. Once a Licchavi wife committed adultery. Her husband resolved to kill her. So, she went to Savatthi and succeeded in getting Pabbajjā. When the husband knew it, he went and lodged a complaint at the court of king Pasenadi. The king said that as the woman had become a nun no punishment could be inflicted on her². So also once some Bhikkhus were suspected of theft by the king's guard, but the case was tried by the Buddha and the verdict he gave was accepted by all³. The monks were thus allowed by a long succession of tradition to submit to their own law without outside interference.

The laws of the Vinaya, on the other hand, were fully in conformity with the requirements of the State. The Buddha advises the Bhikkhus to conform their behaviour to the royal wish⁴. Besides the rules regarding the admission to the Sangha were so based as to avoid all inconvenience to the government servants as a clear proof

¹ *Yajñavalkya-Smṛiti*, II, 192

² *Vinaya*, IV, p. 225.

³ *Vinaya*, III, p. 60

⁴ *Mahāvagga*, III, 4, 3

of it¹ We are thus assured that the laws of the Vinaya, were legally valid, as far as the state recognition goes. The laws, besides, did not belong to a narrow private body, but to an institution of world wide fame, and from its beginning claimed an universal prestige of being the 'Sangha of the four quarters'²

While dealing with the problem of the jurisprudence of the Vinaya, we have to examine both the aspects of jurisprudence viz (1) historical and (2) analytical

The second chapter is specially devoted to the exhibition of the law in its environment and the analysis of the contents of the law without reference to their history or development The sixth chapter deals with an account of legal sources from which 'the law proceeds, together with an investigation of the theory of legislation, judicial precedents and customary law'³

The third and fourth chapters deal with the history as well as the development of the laws

¹*Mahāvagga*, I, 40, 4, 41.

²Salmond, *Jurisprudence*, p. 5-6.

³*Ibid* p. 1.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY MONACHISM

The period shortly preceding the advent of Jainism and Buddhism in India, is commonly known as the Samana-Brahmana period (6th century B C) This was the age when there existed a keen rivalry between two classes viz the wandering mendicants who preached and practised asceticism and the Brahmins under whom the institution of sacrifice flourished. The recluse philosophy at this time was spreading fast, and gradually the number of the wanderers swelled to an amazing height. The Buddha and Mahavira were the two great heroes of asceticism who attacked most vehemently though successfully the sacrificial institutions of the Brahmins and established monastic orders through which they propagated their doctrines.

It is essential as well as interesting to have a peep into the history of prebuddhist asceticism especially that propounded in the Upanisads of which later ascetic doctrines and practices are an outcome

Authentic traces of asceticism are found as early as the Brahmana-period, when the famous sacerdotal literature of the Hindus was being composed

The Brahmanas—The creed of the Brahmanas on the whole differs little from that of the Samhitas. The popularity of the sacrifice is at its zenith.¹ Yajna was the best

¹*Satapatha-Brahmana*, VI, 94, 8, *Atareya-Brahmana*, I, 26, 3, III, 42, V, 26, 3

karma¹ and the ideal was heaven² and it was believed that the gates of heaven were barred against one who had no son³

There are passages in the Brahmanas which reveal staunch materialism on the other hand there are passages in the Gopatha Brahmana and the Devatadhyāya the latest of the Brahmanas which describe to us what a perfect life of penance would be. The former extols a Brahmacarin who goes to a hermitage where Munis like Vasiṣṭha Vamadeva Jamadagni etc. practised rigid austerities like standing in water for a thousand years observing strict Brahmacharya etc.⁴ Here the word Āśrama occurs in the sense of a hermitage and hence the Rsis must be Vanaprasthas. The latter Brahmana says that a Rsi who has understood the essence of things (visayaṅno) is freed from the fetters of the body and crossing over the dark regions, he takes his abode in heaven.⁵

Now the question is how to bridge the wide gulf between these two ideals the one so materialistic and the other so spiritual

There is a passage in the Tandya-Maha-Brahmana which says that a man who performs the Āgneyastakapala sacrifice on the bank of the Drisadvati and goes to the

¹Satapatha Brahmana, I, 7, 1, 9

²Tandya-Maha-Brahmana, XIV, 5, 11, XV, 7, 14, Satapatha Brahmana, VI, 9, 4, 8, Atareya-Brahmana, III, 42, Taittiriya-Brahmana, I, 2, 1, 25, Gopatha-Brahmana, II, 1

³Atareya-Brahmana, IV, 3, 4, 3

⁴Gopatha-Brahmana, I, 2, 7

⁵Burnell, Devatadhyāya, p. 14

country side (tripalakṣa which Sāyana takes to be janapada) and takes the Avabhritha bath in the Yamuna, he 'goes away from men' (manusyehhyah tnohhati),¹ which most probably means that he goes away from the world and takes to the forest life of penance.

There is a beautiful passage in the Taittiriya-Brahmana, where a Rṣi, is praising the beauty of the forest, by the evening twilight, as carts pass by it, and birds delightfully chirping, fly from branch to branch. The forest is most inviting and looks like a home. It is delightful to stay there. It does not harm you. The forest is the mother of beasts. One can satisfy all one's desires by eating sweet fruit from here, and (smelling) fragrant flowers.² This clearly shows a passion for the forest life, the life of penance, most probably of a Vanaprastha. There is also a passage in the Jaiminiya-Brahmana which is called the Āraṇyaka-gana, and where the word 'Parthasrama', occurs, but the whole context is so mystical that we have to withhold giving any judgment on it.³

In the Aitareya-Brahmana we come across a passage, which says 'what is the use of Mala, Ajina, Śmaśru and Tapas? O Brahmanas, pray for sons'.⁴ Sayana takes Mala for Gṛhasthasrama, Ajina for Brahmacharya and Śmaśru

¹ *Tandya-Maha-Brahmana*, 25, 13, 4.

² Sayana takes it in this sense only.

³ *Taittiriya-Brahmana*, II, 5, 5, 6-7.

⁴ Burnell, *Jaiminiya-Brahmana*, p. 18.

⁵ *Aitareya-Brahmana*, XXXIII, 1. 'kimu malam kim ajinam kimu śmaśruni kim tapah, putram brahmana iccha dhvam'.

and Tapas for the last two Āśramas,¹ which does not seem satisfactory. What was the use of denouncing Mala, and wishing for a son? The incongruity would be done away with if we take all the four epithets as signifying the one stage of life viz Tapasya or the fourth Āśrama. Mala in this case can be dirt which accumulates on the body of an ascetic, Ajina is the hide of a deer on which he squats, his hair and beard grown, and practises penance.

It shows also, that though the priestly class was hostile to this sort of ascetic life, it was still practised by some.

In the Śatapatha-Brahmana, Tura Kavaseya who directed the arranging of sacrificial fire for the gods was addressed as a 'Muni' by the gods. The words spoken by Kavaseya are significant, he says, 'what is proper (lokya), what is improper? Ātman is the lord of the sacrifice, the limbs are the priests (ritvi), where the Ātman is the limbs are, where the body is there is the Ātman'.² The speculation on the Ātman and the body I think, imply the superiority of the Ātman to the ritual and the sacrificial terms are employed here in an allegorical sense. Tura Kavaseya therefore seems to be a sage who was building up a new line of thought.

The order of the Tapasas, therefore must have sprung in the time of the Brahmanas as a reaction against ritual which had reached its zenith, as every cultural institution, the institution of Yajna also had to face a reaction after a

¹N Dutt follows the same interpretation. *Antiquity of the Ashramas*, I, 4, 1925.

²Śatapatha-Brahmana, IX, 4, 3, 15-16.

while its glory had reached the summit. In the Brahmanas we see the beginning of the struggle between the priests and non priests. In the Upanisads we see the unchallenged success of the latter.

Prof Rhys Davids also took the origin of the ascetic wandering mendicant, to be in the Śatapatha-Brahmana¹, where Uddalaka Āruni is wandering about the country offering a gold coin, to any one who would prove him wrong in disputation. Uddalaka is a teacher, but no ascetic as far as we know. We cannot trace any of the religious mendicant's characteristics about him except the wandering habit (the purpose of which is not mendicancy). Uddalaka may claim to be one of the pioneers of Brahmayāgya, but there is no evidence to regard him as the founder of religious mendicancy.

After these distorted references in the Brahmanas a complete oblivion seems to have taken hold of the Indian mind, which ends in the enlightenment of the Upanisads, and the reader like Rip Van Winkle awakens to find him self surrounded with new and strange nature of things.

¹Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 23

THE ĀRANYAKAS AND UPANISADS

The creed —The Āranyakas and Upanisads present a picture of society which is quite removed from that represented by the former literature. The intellect is not only mature here but is the backbone of all the activities of the men and women represented herein.¹ The distinction between matter and the spirit is conspicuous and speculations about the Highest Self governing the universe are so completely superb that it was impossible for any post-Upanisadic genius to go one degree further in thought.

The hollowness of Samsara (family life) the feebleness of the body and the emptiness of life are too obvious here. This is the sort of intellectual yearning for the unknown that keeps in with the real spirit of Indian asceticism.

The creed of the Āranyakas and Upanisads is exactly the same and is directly opposed to that of the Brahmanas. The ascetic thoughts in this literature possess an intrinsic beauty and almost border on perfection while we saw only the beginning of them in the Brahmanas. Though the Āranyakas and Upanisads are represented to be the appendices of the Brahmanas it is possible on account of the vast difference in their creeds that a considerable time must have elapsed between the completion of the Brahmanas and the establishment of the Upanisad theories and in this apparently blank gap between the two advents that

¹E.g. The discussion between Yajnavalkya and Gargi
Bṛihad A anyal a Upanisad III 6

the theories of asceticism must have grown up stage by stage, no literature of this period is available until the Āranyakas come in view with their perfect theories on the Brahman and asceticism.

The terms, Muni, Parivrajaka, Tapasa, etc. denote one and the same idea¹ here, which were not so in the former literature. There are besides this a number of new words like Pravrajya, Śramaṇa² etc. coined to signify an ascetic, which were adopted also by the later Sutrakāras, the Buddhists and the Jains. This clearly shows us that the evolution of the ideas attached to the verbal forms and the coming of new words when the old stock of the ascetic vocabulary became insufficient for the growing needs of the time, must have taken some time.

Asceticism.—In the Taittirīya-Āranyaka, three kinds of Risis the Ārunas Ketus and Vatarasanas are said to have sprung from the body of Prajapati as he practised penance.

For the first time, the Ārunaketuka-vrata is prescribed. The Risis should live on water, or every day eat whatever is obtained by begging—should worship Agni, they should not have any possession, they should live in forest, wear the 'Kśāuma' dress, either yellow or white,

¹Taittirīya-Āranyaka, I, 32, II, 12, 20, Brihad-Āranyaka Upaniṣad, III, 5, 1, IV, 4, 22, 5, 2 Chandogya-Upaniṣad, XII, 83, 9, 2 Katha-Upaniṣad, IV, 15, Mundakopaniṣad, III, 1, 5 Aruneya Upaniṣad, III

²Taittirīya Āranyaka, II, 7, Brihad Āranyaka Upaniṣad, IV, 3, 22

and carry on the pursuit of knowledge¹ Similarly, a Tapasvi, says the same text, should learn Swadhyaya' (knowledge of the Brahman), in forest whether he be talking, standing, walking or sleeping² These men seem to be the Vanaprasthas. The Vātaraśanas however, seem to be the Parivrajakas, as they were called Śramanas, Brahmacarins who used to wander, and could enter subtle bodies if they liked³ The Munis in the valley between the Ganga and Yamuna, also having their hearts delighted with the Brahman-lore soon took leave of their life⁴ That a man should perform the Brahman sacrifice in his body, which is purified by renunciation and should constantly brood on the Ātman by means of Tapas, Brahmacarya and fasting, is the teaching of the Sāṅkhya yāna-Āraṇyaka⁵ The Brihad-Āraṇyaka and Chandogya Upanisads also throw considerable light on the institution of the Śramanas or Parivrajakas. The former says that the Munis having understood the Ātman, desirous of the Brahman world, renounce the world, crushing the desire for sons, wealth, and heaven, and wander forth living by alms alone⁶ The Chandogya, describes not the practical discipline, but the virtues a Muni should cherish⁷ The renunciation of the world as represented here is complete

¹ *Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka*, I, 33

² *Ibid*, II, 12

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Ibid*, II, 20.

⁵ *Sāṅkhya-yāna-Āraṇyaka*, XV, 1

⁶ *Brihad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, IV, 4, 22

⁷ *Chandogya-Upaniṣad*, VII, 8, 3, 9, 2

and asceticism is looked upon as a crown of life and not a complete and independent ideal or scheme of life ¹

The wandering habit though distinctly mentioned in the Upanisad, does not seem to be binding yet Yajnavalkya is one of the known figures of the Upanisads, who leaves the life of the world and retires to the forest. It is most likely that he led the life of a hermit.

The story of Yajnavalkya leaving the world and embracing the life of renunciation² is taken by some as the beginning of asceticism in India³. But since we have traced the existence of monastic ideas in the Brahmanas we can say that Yajnavalkya was a man whose name is for the first time directly connected with asceticism and that is due to the fame he won as a philosopher and a debater, and also as a wealthy and worthy Brahmin. Other persons who entered the order were most probably common people lay people. Thus when the civilization of the world was very young the name of Yajnavalkya flashed across the philosophical horizon of India, with unusual suddenness. He is more of a hero than the pioneer of asceticism. His opinions about an ascetic, wandering or otherwise, are always held as a standard of asceticism. Yajnavalkya and some of his unknown contemporaries were real sophists. Their endeavours were not in the slightest way inferior to the sophists of 6th century B. C. whom Rhys Davids

¹ *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* I, III, 4, 2, IV, 4, 32
Chandogya-Upaniṣad, II, 23 *Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brahmana*, II, 2, 1, 1-4

² *Bṛihad-Araṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, IV, 5, 2.

³ Bloomfield, *Religion of the Vedas*, p. 280 (Rise of asceticism in the Upaniṣads)

mentions in his 'Buddhist India' Reformation in ancient India started peacefully, and the sophists, old and new appealed not to the sword but to intellectual and moral suasion. We thus see that the asceticism as it is expressed in the sacred books of the Upanisads, is most pure and ideal and carried on an intellectual basis. This intellectual attainment was not every child's toy, but the possession of a special few. Yājñavalkya's renunciation must have affected the philosophical world to a large extent, and the dazzling glory of this sage must have captured many a student of Truth.

The Upanisadic Muni left the world entirely,¹ cut himself from all the ties and topical conventions. He resorted to Sannyasa with a marvellous effort and enthusiasm. The accomplishment of restraint for the Yogic trance is amazingly high. Such things not being in the scope of ordinary men whose intellect, morality as well as physical strength were limited. Only giant intellects like Yājñavalkya could fulfil such conditions, and such people as we know are always to be counted as exceptions, which prove the rule. Naturally, the number of recluses must have been limited then.

Tapas — Tapas is one of the most essential conditions of asceticism², and it is a means to get *Swargaloka*³ and even

¹*Bṛihadāranyaka-Upaniṣad*, III, 4, 2, IV, 4, 22
Chandogya-Upaniṣad, II, 23 *Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brahmana*, II, 2, 1

²*Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, III, 4, 2, IV, 4, 22
Chandogya-Upaniṣad, II, 23 *Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brahmana*, II, 2, 1, 1-4

³*Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brahmana*, III, I, 3, 7.

the knowledge of the Ātman. Yet the asceticism of Śramaṇism of the Upanisads, contains a higher principle than Tapas, which outshines Tapas. It is Dhyāna which absorbs all the senses of a person. Nowhere else is the nature and scope of meditation so precisely and emphatically described as here, which shows that it was the chief aim of the authors of the Upanisads.¹ Even Tapas is not specified so well. Yajñavalkya says to Maitreyi that Yajña, Dana (gift) and Tapas win only the Svarga, but the aim of a genuine seeker after Truth being the Brahmaloka², wise men resort to the knowledge of the Brahman³, the short cut to which lies through meditation alone. This seems to me the first reaction against Tapas, and this sort of idea perhaps paved the way for the doctrine of the Buddha as opposed to austerities and mortifications and impregnated with full faith in meditation upon the true nature of things.

The beginning of the reaction against Tapas in the Upanisads also shows that there must have elapsed some time the period of oblivion—between the two propagandas viz. beginning of the reaction of Tapas against sacrifice in the Brahmanas, and the beginning of the reaction against Tapas by Dhyāna in the Upanisads.

It is also to be noted, as far as asceticism of the Upanisad period is concerned, that the words Yati and Bhikṣu are not found in the earliest Āranyakas and Chāndogya Upanisad, though the ideas conveyed by these terms are

¹*Saṅkhyayana-Aranyaka*, XV, 1. *Bṛhad-Aranyaka-Upanisad*, II, 4, 5, IV, 5, 6. *Chāndogya-Upanisad*, I, 3, 12 II, 22, 2, V, 1, 8, VI, 7. *Śvetāśvatara* I, 3, 4.

²*Chāndogya-Upanisad*, II, 23.

³*Bṛhad-Aranyaka-Upanisad*, III, 8, 10.

given a full display. The earliest reference to the word Bhikṣu is to be found in the *Astadhyayi* of Panini, which also mentions a Bhikṣu-Sutra¹. The references to the Vaikhanasa or Śramanaka-Sutras are also found in some earlier Dharmasutras². This clearly shows that there must have existed some specific ascetic literature in India before the Sutra-Period, and after the Upaniṣads. It is most likely, also, that such Sutras as the r titles show, dealing with the practical ascetic discipline were directly opposed to sacrificial rites, and probably were suppressed by the sacerdotal class of the Brahmanas who gained supremacy in the Sutra-Period. In the Dharmasutras the object of which is nothing but the uplift of the Grihaśrāma³, reserved only a corner for the ascetic, after having moulded the ascetic theories in the rigid Āśrama-system according to their own convenience.

The Śramana is mentioned in the Upaniṣad as well as the Sutras⁴, but there is no difference whatsoever between them and the rest of the ascetics and all these men can be included in the class of the Brahmana-Parivrajakas. The word Bhikṣu also points to the same class of people⁵ which shows that at least from the Brahmanical point of view there was no division in this class. The Samana Brahmana period which may be identified with 600 B. C. and perhaps

¹*Panini Astadhyayi*, IV, 3, 110

²*Dharmasutras of Gautama*, I, 3, 26, *Bauddhayana*, II, 6, 14, 15, *Lasishā*, IX, 10-11

³*Panini's Astadhyayi*, IV, 3, 110, *Dharmasutras of Gautama*, III, 26, and *Bauddhayana*, II, 6, 15

⁴*Dharmasutras of Gautama*, III, 27, *Bauddhayana*, II, 6, 16

a century preceding it, imparted two new things to the institution of the mendicants. The wandering tendency however, is systematically handed down, since the Upanisads. The system was partially observed in the Upanisads and was optional. In the Sūtras it is mentioned with reference to the Bhikṣus, while in the Sāmaṇa-Brāhmaṇa period which was immediately followed by the Buddhist period, the custom formed an essential feature of mendicant society. Rhys Davids' opinion that the wandering community of mendicants came into existence not long before the rise of Buddhism cannot be believed in its entirety¹.

These Sāmaṇas described in the Jain and Pali texts, though they originated from the Brāhmaṇa-Paribbajakas and borrowed many of their customs, went one step ahead and denounced the Vedas with all their heart. Though the anti Vedic feelings of the sophistry were their undenied trademark, yet it was by no means their own invention. It was the inheritance their forefathers had left to them², and they added to it. We thus see how sophism with all its varieties caught hold of the Indian mind from a remote time, only the full results of it we see in the later period of the Sāmaṇas.

Civilization shifts its place from time to time. In the time of the Vedas it haunted the down lit plains of the

¹Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 141, B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 10.

²*Āitareya-Aranyaka* (Keith's edition) pp. 101, 139, *Āruṅṅta*, I, 15. L. Sarup, *Ajanta and Āruṅṅta* Introduction, p. 74, says that the anti Vedic literature came into light with the A. V. Later on it was discovered in the isolated passages of the Āranyakas and Upanisads.

(1) The first Āśrama i. e. the institution of student hood is the foremost of the time honoured institutions of Indian culture

The strict observance of celibacy, the real thirst for knowledge and truth, an accomplishment of the highly cultivated physical and moral restraint created a halo of glory round the student since the Vedic times. As an exception to the rule the ideas about the student have remained unchanged through the long range of the sacred literature of the Aryans¹. The institution is no doubt older than that of the fourth Āśrama.

Of all the four Āśramas, the first Āśrama of Brahmacharya contains the germs of monachism and hence comes closer to the hermit stage², and hence scholars almost unanimously declare the Brahmacharin to be a model and the origin of the Śramanas³. Out of the three essential practices of celibacy, mendicancy and itinerancy of the Śramanas, they had no doubt borrowed the first two from the Brahmacharin of old¹. Rhys Davids, thought that the

¹*Rigveda*, V, 109.5. The Brahmacharin goes engaged in duty. He is a member of God's own body. *Atharva Veda* (Bloomfield, p. 85), XI, 5-7. *Gopatha-Brahmana* (2nd Prapathaka) I, 21-9, glorification of the sun as a Brahmana disciple, *Śatapatha-Brahmana*, XI, 4, *Bṛihad-Aranyaka-Upaniṣad*, III, 7, 1, III, 3, 1, 118, *Chandogya Upaniṣad* VI, 27, *Gautama*, III, 3, 7, *Apastamba*, II, 9, 21.

²Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 73.

Punjab, in the Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad and the Sūtra periods it chose the sacred land of the Aryāvarta for its abode and in the Sāmaṇa-Brahmaṇa period it turned Eastwards¹ thus glorifying the land of Magadha², which lay far from the land of Brahmanic culture. The monk-world of this place naturally differed from the Parivrajakas of the Aryāvarta. It was easier for these recluses to denounce sacrifices and the Vedas.

We have so far traced the historical outline of the monastic institution in India, before the Buddha came on the scene. Before closing the chapter it is essential to take a hurried view of the various tendencies the Parivrajaka borrowed from either the Brahmacharin or the Brahmanavadin from time to time. This will help us to settle the origin of the wanderers either in the institution of the Brahmacharin or the Brahmanavadin.³ The chief of these conditions are the two conditions of (1) celibacy, (2) monastic habit.

¹It is in the East that the Buddhas are born.
Cullatavga, XII, 2, 3.

²N. Dutt, *Spread of Buddhism*, p. 82, B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, 23. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism* (American lectures), p. 90.

³Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp. 67, takes the origin of the Sāmaṇas to be in the wandering teachers who went on holding discussions with the Brahmins, while Jacobi (S. B. E. LXII) *Jain Sūtras*, Introduction, p. XXIV, maintains that the Brahmanic ascetic is the model from which the Sāmaṇas borrowed many important practices. Also, Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 73.

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²Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 73.

³Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 73, Hume, *Principal Upaniṣads*, p. 374, Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* p. 247, *Dialogues of Buddha*, II, p. 247, Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 74.

⁴Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 247.

origin of the Samanas lay in the fact of the youths leaving the world without entering the life of house holder and without any previous study¹ But this argument will have to be fully tested before it is accepted

Life long Celibacy—One fact however is clear that this sort of religious life, the life long celibacy, technically known as Naisthika Brahmacharya, was not mentioned till we find the first reference to it in the Chandogya Upanishad², when asceticism was already established. It is not mentioned in Gautama's Dharmasutra, though other Sutras refer to it³ According to all these passages it is clear that the Naisthika Brahmacharin should stay with his preceptor all his life and serve him till death Though life long celibacy is common to this sort of student and the Śramana till the Śramana is a free man and acknowledges no teacher, besides a Naisthika Brahmachario, it is said can neither marry nor can become a recluse⁴, which fact lessens the probability of the origin of the Śramanas in the life-long student

As for itinerancy one can assert that it was never a natural feature of Brahmacharya, it was a mere accident Students used to wander⁵ but only in the quest of a fit teacher As soon as they got a preceptor they settled in his house, till they had mastered his teachings But this is not sufficient to prove as Rhys Davids and Deussen thought

¹Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, II, p. 217

²*Chandogya-Upanishad* II, 20

³Dharmasutras of Āpastamba I, 1, 4, 29, Vasistha, 7, 3-6

⁴*Hastin-Dharmasutra*, III, 14

⁵*Bhikṣu-Āranyaka-Upanishad*, III, 7, 1, III, 3, 1

that even the nomadic custom was borrowed by the Śramaṇa from the Brahmacarin¹

(2) Almost contemporaneous to the Vedic Brahmacarin is the Vedic Muni or the Brahmvadin, and hence it is difficult to judge who borrowed from whom, and to what extent. It must be acknowledged, however, that the special privilege of meditation or thought belongs to the Brahmvadin. Thus the love of discussion, the keen longing of vanquishing the opponent in debates and the arrangement of walking tours for such purposes, etc. were all the trademarks of the Brahmvadin. Itinerancy is therefore borrowed most probably by the Śramaṇas from these wandering teachers of Brahmvādya, Uddalaka Āruṇi being the first known teacher². Hence, Dr Barua draws his conclusion about the origin of the Śramaṇas in the wandering masters of the Brahman knowledge³ which is also like the first an exaggerated statement. The truth probably lies midway. The Śramaṇa held the Brahmacarin as a model as far as practical life with all its moral aspects (such as aversion to luxury, observance of chastity) and the daily routine were concerned. For the intellectual pursuits and the means thereof, he was indebted to the Brahmvadin. The Śramaṇa, hence, is a combination of the student and the wandering master of the Brahman knowledge. He behaves like the one and thinks like the other. Many of the rules of the Śramaṇas therefore can be traced back to the rules and habits of both the types of men.

¹Deussen, *Philosophy of Upaniṣad*, p. 377

²*Satapatha Brahmana*, XI, 4, 1

³Barua, *Pre-Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 61, Sukumar Dutt, *Early Buddhist monachism*, p. 69

CHAPTER II

THE ANALYSIS OF THE VINAYA LAWS

The Vinaya Laws—Of all the monastic laws the Vinaya laws are most extensive as well as intricate and reveal the legal aptitude as also the common sense on the part of the Buddhists. They are obviously vivid and run into minutest details so that even a partial knowledge of them gives us a fair idea of the monastic life of the early Buddhists. They are systematically and scientifically arranged though their classification may fall short of the modern methods. The principle underlying the classification is the motive and magnitude of the offence.

The Vinaya Literature—The literature on the Vinaya is (1) canonical and (2) explanatory. The canonical literature is composed of five books viz., two Vibhanga, two Khandhakas and a glossary called Parivara. Of the five books the Vibhanga especially the first Vibhanga known as the Bhikkhu Vibhanga is the most important for our purpose and contains the oldest of the rules which were grouped under the Patimokkha. The book gives a list of 227 offences and enjoins laws to prohibit them accompanied by an ancient detailed commentary as well as typical cases that called for punishment after each offence. This shows how the study of the Vinaya was paramount to the Bhikkhus and suggests how rigid the technicalities of the Vinaya must have been.

The second Vibhanga viz. the Bhikkhuni Vibhanga is much shorter and less elaborate than the first book. In many ways it is a mere imitation of the former.

The two Khandhakas are indispensable for more than one reasons. They form the essential supplements without which the Patimokkha would not be complete.

The Parivāsa is a much later supplement and a glossary to the Patimokkha, which is not so important as far as it does not contribute anything new to the subject. Yet it facilitates the study of the Vinaya by enumerating and retelling the rules separating them from the jumble of worthless details.

The non canonical literature on the Vinaya comprises the voluminous work of Buddhaghosa, which is called 'Samantapāsādikā'. It is a commentary on the Vinaya Pitaka, lucid and detailed, which makes the study of the Vinaya accessible to all. In many places Buddhaghosa describes legal procedures vividly and sometimes even mentions offences which were not included in the original Vinaya. Another book on the Vinaya called 'Vinaya viniccaya' is that of Buddhādatta who is believed to be a junior contemporary of Buddhaghosa though he never mentions the name of the former in his work. The book however, lacks in critical insight and merely gives us a summary of the Vinaya Pitaka in couplets. The purpose of the book seems to make it easier for students to commit to memory the rules of the Vinaya.

The law-code—The 227 offences are classified under seven categories in a descending order viz Parajika, Sanghadisesa, Aniyata, Nissaggiya-Pacittiya, Pacittiya, Pāṭidesaniya, and Sekhiya. From the legal point of view, Parajika is the gravest offence, Sekhiya the lightest one. There are also two kinds of offences which come under

Thullaccaya and Dukkata which were a later addition I have included them in the Patimokkha laws for their peculiar legal position. Thullaccaya as the analysis will show is weaker in jurisdiction than Sanghadisesa and Dukkata even less than Pacittiya.

The chief defect in the classification of the Vinaya laws is that many a time offences which have no common bearing are bracketed together or are kept loosely hanging somewhere. This leads to anomaly. As for instance sexual offences theft murder and pretension to supernatural powers are all put in one category viz Parajika because the punishment for these offences is the same. Similarly Sanghadisesa comprises lesser sexual offences rules for building huts prohibitions regarding false accusation creating disturbance and schism etc. So also in the Pacittiya offences to sleep with a woman in the same place is bracketed with telling a deliberate lie and using abusive language and all these offences come under the falsehood section. Thus we find offences which ought to belong to specific groups as sexual offences offences against property etc., scattered all over, and hence many a time the nature of the laws does not become clear at first.

Analysis of the offences—An attempt has been made here to analyse the offences on modern lines without damaging the judicial principle of the Vinaya.

I Offences against person

(1) Sexual offences (2) Murder and assault (3) Defamation and slander

II Offences against property

(1) Theft (2) Damage

III *Offences against the Sangha*

(1) Disputes (2) Schism (3) Refuting legal authority

IV. *Offences against Religion*

(1) Talking lightly of the Buddha and the Sangha etc.

*Sexual offences**Parāyika*

Hetero sexual offences (Offences against human beings and offences against the superhumans and beasts)

Offences against a woman (a) Complete or incomplete intercourse with a woman by putting the organ either in the mouth or vagina or rectum of a woman¹ who may be awake, sleeping unconscious mad or in a fit and whether she be a former wife sister or mother (b) Consent to have a complete or incomplete sex-act when a woman is brought to a Bhikkhu and he is forced to have an intercourse with her by joining and pressing the organs of the two together² (c) Sexual intercourse practised when there is temporary impotency, thinking that it might not lead to disastrous consequences as it would in the usual course³

(2) *Offences against an eunuch*⁴

¹ Vinaya III, pp 21-28

² *Ibid*, p 29

³ *Ibid*, p 37

⁴ *Ibid*, pp 30, 31 etc

(3) *Offences against a beast* To take sexual liberties with fairies and animals such as female monkeys¹ etc.

(4) *Offences against the dead* Sexual intercourse with a corpse which is still fresh²

(5) *Homosexual offences* Sex intercourse with a person of the same sex³

(6) *Offences against self* Self abuse i.e. putting the organ into one's mouth having a flexible back or having a long and hanging organ putting it into rectum⁴ etc

Sanghādisesa

Heterosexual offences

Offences against a woman (1) Coming in a close physical contact with a woman, such as embracing her, holding her hand, or plait of hair⁵ etc

2) Allowing a woman to touch oneself in lust or tolerate a woman's touch who is in lust⁶

3) Addressing a woman in a coarse and indecent language⁷

4) Praising or censuring her sexual organs⁸

¹ *Vinaya* III, pp 22, 23, 28, 34, 37.

² *Ibid*, pp 27, 30

³ *Ibid*, pp 30, 33 etc

⁴ *Ibid*, p 35

⁵ *Ibid*, pp 39, 120

⁶ *Ibid*, p 124

⁷ *Ibid*, pp 127

⁸ *Ibid*, pp 129 It was however not regarded an offence if a Bhikkhu talked harshly about a woman's sexual organs in order to convince people of the doctrine of Brahma-chariya. This shows the elasticity of the Vinaya-laws.

5) Discussing sexual matters with her¹.

6) Putting impertinent and inquisitive questions to a woman about her sexual life².

7) Giving a woman hints or tips on sexual matters³.

8) Being moved with passion thrusting a thumb into the vagina of a sleeping woman⁴.

9) Begging a woman for sexual intercourse, saying that the union with a religious, learned man like a Bhikkhu would yield great merit⁵.

10) Recommending sexual union with a Bhikkhu as a remedy for sterility, or as a means to procure a son or to gain the husband's love to women if they approach for an advice in such matters⁶.

Offences against self:

Masturbation: Emission of semen with a desire to remove nervous tension by using the hand⁷ or other methods as having hot baths⁸, leading a free and unrestrained life⁹ with various motives viz. (1) to procure health (2) to secure comfort (3) on medical grounds

¹ *Vinaya* III, p. 129.

² *Ibid*, p. 129.

³ *Ibid*, p. 129.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 35.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 131.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 134.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 112.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 117.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 111.

(4) with a view of charity (5) to obtain merit (6) to acquire heaven (7) to bring about conception etc.¹

Offences against the dead Touching a corpse in sexual parts.²

Offences against the public (1) Matchmaking³ (2) To be a go between i.e. receiving messages from a husband or a paramour and carrying it to the wife or a lady love and bringing a reply back all the time taking interest in such affairs.⁴

Thullaccaya

Heterosexual offences

Offences against a beast To touch with hand a female from the lower creation such as a cow etc.⁵

Offences against an eunuch To touch with hand an eunuch.⁶

Homosexual offences (1) Climbing on the back of another man so that the sexual organs of the two come into close contact⁷ (2) Kissing a man with lust⁸

¹ Vinaya III, p. 112

² *Ibid.*, p. 37

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-138

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 138-143 It is however, interesting to note that a Bhikkhu could accept such undertakings if the Sangha permitted it or if he was to perform the mission to help a sick person (p. 143)

⁵ Vinaya III, p. 121, *Mahavajja* V, 9

⁶ Vinaya III, p. 121

Samantapāsādikā I, p. 266

⁸ *Ibid.*

Offences against self (self abuse)

Attempts at ejaculation by (1) taking hot water bath¹ (2) on the pretext of dressing a wound on the penis² (3) pressing the organ with the thighs³ (4) deliberate attempt at ejaculation in latrines urinals⁴ etc.

Castration Castrating oneself⁵

Offences against the dead (1) Trying to have a complete or incomplete sexual intercourse with the dead and decomposed body of a male female, either human or a beast⁶ (2) Touching a dead body with lust but not in the sexual zone⁷

Miscellaneous

Surgical operation Performing a surgical operation within a distance of two inches round the anus⁸

*Offences against the public.**Matchmaking and acting as a go-between*

(1) Receiving a message contemplating over it but not bringing reply, (2) Receiving a message and bringing a reply without any contemplation over the matter

¹ Vinaya III, p 117

² Ibid, p 117

³ Ibid, p 118

⁴ Ibid, p 117

⁵ Cullaragga, V, 7

⁶ Vinaya, III, pp 29 33

⁷ Ibid, p 33

⁸ Mahavagga, VI, 22

(3) Not receiving a message but contemplating over it and bringing a reply¹

Nissaggiya-Pacittiya

Heterosexual offences

Offences against a woman (1) Getting ones underwear washed by a Bhikkhuni who is not related to oneself² (2) Receiving a robe from the hand of a Bhikkhuni not related³

Pacittiya

Heterosexual offences

Offences against a woman (1) Lying down to sleep in the same place with a woman⁴.

(2) To go on board the same boat by appointment with a Bhikkhuni⁵

(3) To travel along a high road in company of a Bhikkhuni by special appointment⁶

(4) To take seat in a secret place with a woman⁷

Dikkata

Heterosexual offences

Offences against a woman (1) Climbing a tree with a woman or having a pleasure trip with her in a boat⁸

¹ Vinaya III, pp 142-143

² Ibid, pp 205-207

³ Ibid, pp 207-210

⁴ Vinaya IV, p 19

⁵ Ibid, p 65

⁶ Ibid, p 63

⁷ Ibid, p 68

⁸ Vinaya III, p 127

(2) Passing remarks about a woman's dress.¹

Offences against a beast To touch a female beast with a lustful mind²

Self-abuse (1) making a wooden stamp (a figure either of a woman or a man) and rubbing it against the sexual parts.³ (2) Ejaculation in sleep when the organ is squeezed accidentally by another person.⁴

Offences against the dead Trying to put the sexual organ into the mouth of a decomposed body which however makes penetration impossible.⁵

Offences against the public

Matchmaking and being a go-between

(1) Receiving a message but not paying attention to it and not bringing an answer back

(2) Neither to receive a message, nor to bring a reply but to contemplate on it

(3) Neither receiving a message, nor contemplating over it but bringing a reply.⁶

Offences regarding murder or inflicting injuries etc

Pārājika

¹ Vinaya III, p 130

² Samantapāsādikā I, p 266

³ Ibid, p 267

⁴ Vinaya III, pp 117-118

⁵ Ibid, p. 37

⁶ Ibid, pp 142-143

Murder (direct) (1) To give a person poison.
(2) To beat a person with a stick (3) To stone a person to death¹ etc

Murder (indirect) In the Vinaya the indirect murder is given a more elaborate treatment

The various indirect ways to deprive a person of life are (1) to create disgust for life in a person by describing how unbearable, awful and vain it is with the intention that the person should become desperate and commit suicide² (2) Inciting another person to injure or kill a person³ (3) to tempt a person saying that if he dies in

¹ Vinaya III, pp 74, 79, 80, 82, etc

² *Ibid*, p 73 It is to be borne in mind in this connection, that the Pali literature is full of pessimistic notes on life. Not only the doctrine of Nibbana, but the whole structure of renunciation is based upon the idea of escaping from the uncertainty and misery of human life. Nibbana was the supreme happiness and could be sought through Pabbajja alone. So, the disgust for life and the human body, unless it drove one to good action or to Pabbajja was a sin, especially, if it culminated in suicide or murder. The disgust for life on the other hand, was a qualification if it resulted in a detachment from the worldly things and led to renunciation (Samantapasadika II, pp 397-8). The intensity of the offence depended upon the motive of the preacher in painting a dark picture of life as well as its consequences which were seen from the action of the listener. This shows how psychology played an important part in the formation of the Vinaya jurisprudence.

³ *Ibid*, p 75

a particular way he would get wealth fame and heaven¹
 (4) to dig a ditch on the way, so that the victim may fall
 in it and die²

Offences against a woman Abortion—To give
 medicines and suggest a woman some methods such as
 rubbing the abdomen or fomenting it etc to bring about
 abortion³

(2) *Thullaccaya*

Graveous hurt (1) To order a Bhikkhu to kill or
 injure a person so that he consents and the person is
 vitally wounded⁴ (2) To tell a person that if he dies
 in a particular way he will get money he will acquire
 fame etc., so that it causes the party an acute mental
 pain owing to the consciousness of the approach of death
 or that the person inflicts a serious injury on himself⁵
 (3) Figuring oneself as something terrible⁶, with the
 intention of scaring a person (4) To make an attempt
 on a persons life with such means as thrashing him, or
 administering poison etc. so that the person suffers but
 does not die⁷

Offences against a woman Abortion—(1) To bring
 about abortion of a woman when both the mother and child
 live (2) when the mother dies and the child lives⁸

¹ Vinaya III, p 78

² Ibid, p 80

³ Ibid, pp 83-84

⁴ Ibid, p 75

⁵ Ibid, p 76

⁶ Ibid, p 77

⁷ Ibid, pp 77-83

⁸ Ibid pp 83 84

Ācattiya

Involving slight injury (1) To give a blow in anger¹ (2) To poke a person² (3) To suggest intentionally difficulties of conscience to a Bhikkhu, so that he becomes uneasy³

To destroy plants etc (1) To destroy vegetable⁴ (2) To dig ground or have it dug⁵ (3) To drink water with living germs in it⁶ (4) To deprive any living being (animal etc.) of life⁷

Makkata

Involving wicked intention and no injury (1) To incite a Bhikkhu to kill a person⁸ (2) To dig a ditch with evil intention (as also various other means such as procuring poison, weapons etc.)⁹ (3) To figure oneself as something terrible¹⁰ (4) To say that if a person dies in particular way etc he may acquire fame, wealth etc.¹¹

Offences against a woman An attempt to abort a woman (which is not successful)¹²

¹ Vinaya IV, p 146

² Ibid, p 111

³ Ibid, p 148

⁴ Ibid, p 35

⁵ Ibid, p 33

⁶ Ibid, p 125

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Vinaya III, p 75

⁹ Ibid, p 76

¹⁰ Ibid, p 77

¹¹ Ibid, p 76

¹² Vinaya III, p 82

Deeds involving no evil intention but resulting in serious consequences, such as death¹

Offences involving defamation slander etc

Sanghādiseṣa

(1) To accuse a Bhikkhu falsely of a Parajika offence (i.e. misbehaviour, theft, murder etc.) when the offence is really a minor one or there is no offence at all² (2) To plead that a Bhikkhu is guilty of a Thullaccaya or Pacittiya only when he has in reality committed a Sanghādiseṣa offence³

Pacittiya

(1) To slander a Bhikkhu⁴ (2) To abuse a Bhikkhu⁵ (3) To speak disrespectfully of a Bhikkhu deputed to any official duty⁶ (4) To accuse a Bhikkhu falsely of a Sanghādiseṣa offence without ground⁷

Offences against property

A) *Theft* Theft consists of taking away an article which may be something as valuable as a precious stone or as insignificant as a handful of rice without the permission of the owner. The different categories of the stolen property are defined according to the Vinaya as (1) a treasure deposited in the earth (2) an article lying on the ground,

¹ Vinaya III, pp 83, 84, 86

² Ibid, pp 163-169

³ Vinaya III, p 170

⁴ Vinaya III, p 13

⁵ Vinaya IV, p 14

⁶ Vinaya IV, p 36

⁷ Vinaya IV, p 86

on bed, on a seat etc (3) a treasure lying under water or placed in a boat (4) an article placed in vehicle (5) an article in the Vihara (6) anything from a field such as corn etc. or from a garden such as fruit flowers etc (7) property from a village or forest etc (8) men birds and animals etc¹

Pāṇāyika

(1) To remove a treasure from its place² (2) To take another's treasure for oneself by breaking the seal³ (3) To open the mouth of a jar containing either oil or honey and to drink off the contents⁴ (4) To order another Bhikkhu to steal a particular article and see it is done⁵ (5) To hide a stolen article⁶ (6) To deny and refuse and not to give back a deposit to its owner⁷

Thullaccaya

(1) To order another (not a Bhikkhu or a layman) to rob an article and see it is done⁸ (2) Trying to remove the treasure by shaking scrubbing ect⁹ (3) To annoy an owner by refusing to give back a deposit¹⁰ (4) To

¹ Vinaya III pp 46

² Ibid p 48

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid, p 53

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid, p 48

¹⁰ Ibid, p 51

break an article or hide it or render it useless by passing urine on it or throwing leavings of food on it with the intention of stealing¹

Pacittiya

(1) To tell a lie and take another's share of food as ooes owo² (2) To hide or cause another to hide a Bhikkhu's bowl or robe or mat or needlecase or girdle even in jest³ (3) To continue to make use of a robe after making it over to a Bhikkhu or Bhikkhuni⁴

Di kkata

(1) To tempt a Bhikkhu to steal a thing⁵ (2) With a mind to steal to go in search of a treasure⁶ (3) To dig the ground, or to cut down a tree etc. from a place where the treasure is supposed to be buried⁷ (4) To touch a vase or a casket containing a treasure⁸ (5) To obstruct the path of a bird or vehicle with an intention of stealing it⁹ (6) To say 'I do not have the thing', when the owner comes and asks the deposit back¹⁰

¹ *Samantapāsādikā* II, p. 321

² *Vinaya* III, p. 59

³ *Vinaya* IV, pp. 122-124

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122

⁵ *Vinaya* III, p. 53

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 51

B) *Offences against the property of the Sangha*
 (Mainly including damage and negligence).

Pacittiya

1) Not to put in its proper place either a bedstead or a chair or a stool, the common property of the Sangha which has been taken out for use and to go away without saying anything to anybody about it¹

2) To put back in its proper place any of the above mentioned articles, but to depart without saying anything to anybody²

3) To sit down hurriedly or lie down in the upper story of a dwelling place common to the Sangha, or on a bedstead or a chair with removeable legs³

4) To divert the use of any individual property given to the Sangha⁴

Dullata

To break an article, to hide it or to render it useless by passing urine on it or throwing leavings of food on it etc., (without intention of stealing⁵)

C) *Offences against unmoveable property*
 (Mainly regarding the construction of
 a hut or a Vihara etc.)

¹ Vinaya IV, pp 39-40

² Ibid, pp 40-42

³ Ibid, p 44

⁴ Ibid, p 154

⁵ Samantapāsādikā II, p 321

Saṅghadiseṣa

1) (a) To build a hut or a big Vihāra on a place without the permission of the owner, (b) on a place which is unsafe i.e. infested by rats, ants, diseases etc., and to which there is no easy entrance¹.

2) To make a hut beyond fixed proportion².

Māhātā

1) To make a hut out of proportion (though the ground has been obtained with the owner's permission and though the place is safe)

2) To build a hut on a place which is infested with rats etc., though the rest of the conditions are fulfilled

3) To build a hut to which there is no easy access, though in all other respects there is no ground for a complaint³

*Offences against the Sangha**Disputes and Schism**Saṅghadiseṣa*

1) In spite of a precise warning (three times) from the Sangha to cause a split in the Sangha on the pretext of calling attention of the inmates to a particular point which is sure to lead to hot discussion and consequently to

¹ Vinaya III, pp 149, 155-57

² *Ibid*, pp 152-3

³ *Ibid*

schism and thus putting the unity and peace of the Sangha at stake¹

2) To support the Bhikkhu who deliberately causes a split in the Sangha and not to give up his following even after three formal warnings from the Sangha²

3) Not to acknowledge ones fault and if others bring it to ones notice not to listen to them and to make impudent replies (even after three warnings from the Sangha³)

Ihullaccaya

1) To cause a split in the Sangha after two warnings from the Sangha⁴

2) To support a Bhikkhu who causes a split in the Sangha after two warnings from the Sangha⁵

3) Not to admit ones fault and to make impudent replies after two warnings from the Sangha⁶

Pacittiya

To stir up ill will against Bhikkhus deputed to any official duty⁷

Dul kata

1) To try to split the Sangha until a warning comes from the Sangha⁸

¹ Vinaya III, pp 111-171

² *Ibid*, pp 174-176

³ *Ibid*, pp 176-79

⁴ *Ibid*, p 174

⁵ *Ibid* p 176

⁶ *Ibid* p 179

⁷ *Ibid*, pp 37-39

⁸ *Ibid*, p 174

2) To support a Bhikkhu who causes a split in the Sangha until the Sangha warns^{*}

3) Not to admit one's fault until the Sangha warns¹

Offences against law

Pacittiya

1) To tell a novice of a Bhikkhu having committed a grave offence²

2) To refuse to answer when the Sangha is making a formal inquiry into an offence³

3) To stir up for decision a matter which has already been settled according to law⁴

4) To conceal a serious offence committed by a Bhikkhu⁵

5) Not to submit to the decision of the majority when one is admonished for an offence and say that one cannot do so until a consultation with one who is an acknowledged authority on law⁶

6) To regard minor rules of the Patimokkha as insignificant bearing and leading to perplexity⁷

7) To be ignorant of the rules of the Patimokkha⁸

^{*} Vinaya III, p 176

¹ Ibid, p 179

² Vinaya IV, pp 30-32

³ Ibid, pp 35-37

⁴ Ibid p 126

⁵ Ibid, pp 127-128

⁶ Ibid, pp 141-142

⁷ Ibid, pp 142-144

⁸ Ibid, pp 144-145

8) To grumble after having declared consent to the proceedings of the Sangha which are conducted according to law¹

9) To rise from one's seat and go away without having declared consent when the Sangha is engaged in conducting a trial²

Offences against religion

Parājika

Pretending to possess miraculous powers and also other extraordinary qualifications³

Mullaccaya

To talk of one's extraordinary achievements or that of another's unknowingly⁴

Pācittiya

1) To recite Dhamma clause by clause when one is not admitted into the higher grade⁵

2) To tell one not received into the higher grade that the speaker or any other Bhikkhu has extraordinary spiritual gifts even when it is so⁶.

¹ Vinaya IV, pp 151-152

² Ibid, pp 152-153

³ e. Jhāna, Vimokkha Samadhi, Samāpatti, Nānāśassana, Maggabhāna, Phalaśaccakariyā, Kilesapahānam, etc., Vinaya III, pp 90-91

⁴ Ibid, pp. 97-101

⁵ Vinaya IV, pp 14-15

⁶ Ibid, pp. 23-30

3) To interpret the Buddha's words in a wrong way or to twist them so as to serve one's purpose¹

4) To make a robe of the same measure as that of the Buddha².

5) To keep company with a person who twists the words of the Buddha³

Miscellaneous

A) *Offences regarding a Bhikkhu's relation with a Bhikkhuni Pacittiya*

1) To exhort Bhikkhunis when one is not deputed for it⁴

2) To exhort Bhikkhunis after sunset⁵

3) To visit the dwelling place of a Bhikkhuni unless she be ill⁶

4) To eat food procured by the intervention of a Bhikkhum⁷.

¹ Vinaya IV, pp. 133-136.

² Ibid, pp. 173-174.

³ Ibid, pp. 137-140

⁴ Ibid, pp. 49-53.

⁵ Ibid, pp 142-144

⁶ Ibid, pp 144-5

⁷ Ibid, pp 66, 68 The rest of such offences have already been mentioned under sexual offences and need not be repeated here

B) There are besides very many minor rules regarding receiving alms¹ making clothes² etc which run into minute and even worthless details. These rules are besides weak in judicial capacity and so not important from the legal point of view

¹ Vinaya IV, pp 287-299

² Vinaya III, pp 210, 266

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE VINAYA LAWS

The word The word 'Vinaya' has a peculiar technical meaning in the Pali language, it means the collection of rules and ceremonials as dictated by the Buddha for the practical guidance of the Bhikkhus

The word is derived from the Sanskrit root 'vi + ni' which means to lead, to guide, to train¹ etc. The different connotations of the term show the stages of evolution of the ideas attached to it. The word however occurs so rarely in prebuddhist Sanskrit literature, save two instances, that it is very difficult to trace the signs of a gradual evolution

The first etymological evidence is furnished by the *Rigveda*². Brahmanaspati is called a 'Sannaya', 'Vinaya' and 'Purohita'. Sayana interprets the passage as Brahmanaspati brings beings together, and 'leads them away' (vividham neta) and puts them asunder or separates them (pithakkarta). This sense is quite different from the idea of moral discipline or guidance, only the crude idea of leading others according to one's wish is found here

In the *Āitareya-Āraṇyaka* we find another reference, 'Vinayanti vajinam'³ which implies the conducting or training of a horse. The idea of discipline expressed here

¹ Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 'vi + ni'

² *Rigveda*, II, 24, 9

³ *Āitareya-Āraṇyaka*, I, 2, 1, 9

is nearer to the conventional meaning of Vinaya, and it is most probable that the term was first applied to the training of horses with constant use its meaning must have been amplified until it came to mean moral discipline for men and the original significance must have passed into oblivion.

The significance The scope and significance of the Vinaya has not been described so lucidly and aptly by any one as by the learned Buddhaghosa. He defines the Vinaya as the discipline which by various means controls the body and the speech and prevents them from erring¹, and hence the book of the Vinaya is known as a compilation of rules which clearly state what is wrong and what is right, what is offence and what is non offence together with the principle of restraint². These precepts were looked upon as the command of the worthy Buddha³. Naturally the subject of the Vinaya is the moral training known as *Adhisīlasikkhā* in Pali⁴, and hence it gives warnings against moral transgressions.

Kautilya in his *Arthashastra* observes that Vinaya (moral discipline) is natural and external⁵. The minute

¹ Also 'Vividha viśesanyatta vinayam ito ceva kṛyā vacanānam Vinayattthaviduḥ śyam vinayo vinayoti akkato' *Sriantaḥ śāstrā* I, p. 19 also *Atthasaḍḍhi* p. 19.

² Vinayakathā nama kappivakappiya-apānananapatti samāri mahānāpatti samyutta kathā. *Samaratp* is *śāstrā* I, IV, 1 760.

³ *Atthasaḍḍhi* I, 1 21.

⁴ *Atthasaḍḍhi* p. 21.

⁵ Kṛitakṛt sa bhavati ca vinayah, *Arthashastra* I, 5.

Vinaya can be seen in men of pure character firm will and full of religious zeal like the great Sāriputta Moggallāna Mahākassapa, Rāhula, Upālī etc, and hence there is no necessity of regulating their conduct by external hindings. All men however, cannot come up to that mark, and it is a tendency of common people not to do anything seriously unless they are compelled to do so. In case there is will to do a thing it happens that the methods adopted to accomplish it are inadequate and misjudged and so either the state or some person in whom authority has been vested has to interfere and bring an external coercion on men and make them do the right thing according to a regulated plan and impeach them if they fail to keep up by it. Thus is the external Vinaya. The Vinaya Pitaka contains this Vinaya chiefly.

The doctrine of the Buddha consists of the Dhamma and the Vinaya. The Dhamma deals with the purity of mind and with theological problems and moral doctrines. The range of the Dhamma is indeed wider than the Vinaya but it is through the Vinaya that the whole Buddhist doctrine attained stability, if the Dhamma is the doctrine and theory, the Vinaya is the practice and not less important because it is only through the practical application a doctrine is put to test. Buddhaghosa in the *Samantapāsādikā*, calls the Vinaya the very life of the teaching of the Buddha and adds that all Buddhist doctrines and precepts are an outcome of the Vinaya alone¹. How the prosperity of the doctrine and the Sangha depended mainly on the observance of the Vinaya laws will be made clear duly.

¹*Samantapāsādikā* : I, p. 13

The principle underlying the Vinaya The laws of the Vinaya are distinct from any of the contemporary law-codes. Though they differ from all the other systems in their structure, jurisprudence and application still the principle underlying them is an ancient one and common to all the ascetic systems of ancient India. This is the principle or doctrine of 'Brahmacariya' which consists of celibacy and all moral and spiritual means that support it. The Buddhists differed little from the Brahmanic Parivrajaka in that respect. They have improved upon the old ideal¹ only by describing the aim, scope and the nature of Brahmacariya more vividly. The favourite expression of the Buddhists is 'Caturangasamannagatam Brahmacariyam'² (fourfold Brahmacariya), it is called 'Kevala paripurna' (perfect) and 'Parisuddha' (altogether pure) and is an outcome of the doctrine and precepts which are beneficial in the beginning in the middle and in the end and which are significant (Sattva) and noble³. It is said that the doctrine of Brahmacariya was steeped in the Nibbana, it aimed at the Nibbana and ended in the Nibbana⁴. The Brahmacariya of the Buddhists was justice it was Dhamma and it was most auspicious⁵. It was the chief means to extinguish grief⁶. However, this idea of Brahmacariya,

¹The traditional definition of Brahmacariya is that

'Kayena manasa vaca nidrayam api sarvada

Sarvatra maithunabhavo brahmacariyam tad ucyate' (1)

²*Majjhima-Nikaya* I, p. 17

³*Ibid*, I, pp. 213, 216, 240 etc

⁴*Anguttara-Nikaya*, III pp. 4, 381, IV, p. 35 etc

⁵*Samyutta-Nikaya*, I, p. 105, II, p. 219 etc

⁶*Majjhima-Nikaya*, I, p. 304

perfect as it is, is no invention of the Buddha. Brahmacariya was a cherished object since the time of the Rigveda, and with the growth of the philosophical literature, the ideal advanced day by day. The Buddha was not blind to this lineage and praised the Vedic Rsis Atthaka, Vamaka, Vamadeva, Vessamitta, Yamataggi, Angirasa, Bharadvaja, Vasettha, Kassapa, Bhagu etc¹. Some of whom are also praised in the Gopatha-Brahmana for practising Brahmacariya and Tapas in their Āśramas². And in order to prove that his doctrine had an antiquity, the Buddha chose to call it as the Ariya Magga³, Ariya-Dhamma⁴ etc. The 'Tittiriya-Brahmacariya'⁵ and the 'Sankhalikhuta Brahmacariya'⁶ which is praised by the

¹ *Majjhima-Nikaya*, I, p. 514

² *Gopatha-Brahmana* II, 4, 11

³ *Majjhima-Nikaya*, I, pp. 15, 16, III, p. 72, *Anguttara-Nikaya*, V, pp. 244, 278, *Digha-Nikaya*, III, pp. 102, 128, *Samyutta-Nikaya*, I, p. 7 etc.

⁴ *Majjhima-Nikaya*, p. I, 1, *Samyutta-Nikaya*, IV, p. 287

⁵ *Samyutta-Nikaya*, II, p. 219, *Majjhima-Nikaya*, II, pp. 5, 55, III, 11, *Digha-Nikaya*, I, p. 63

⁶ *Cullavagga*, VI, 6, 3. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg take the term to be a covert sarcasm intended to be understood against Taittiriya Brahmanas. The rivalry between the Brahmins and the Buddhists is quite plain, and can be sensed here from the pun played upon the word Tittira. The sarcasm however, does not in any way affect the goodness of the doctrine as well as the practices followed by the Tittira, either the word or the Brahmin, which were acknowledged even by a rival. What can be more genuine

Buddha also shows the indirect influence of the Taittiriya school of the Black Yajurveda and the school of Sankha and Lakṣita (The famous Hindu jurists writers of the Sankha Lakṣita Dharmasūtra) on Buddhist thought and practices¹

It was considered a great qualification to be well versed in the Dhamma as well as the Vinaya. A Bhikkhu learned in the Vinaya was known as the Vinayadhara, he was expected to know all the precepts of the Vinaya together with the offences and transgressions for which they were declared

The formation The formation of the Vinaya rules plays an important part in the history of the Vinaya. The

than a tribute from an antagonist? And hence the influence of this school appears indirect as in so many other cases. As for example, the Buddha opposed the Vedic Brahmins whenever he got an opportunity and insisted on proving that his doctrine and his ways were the only perfect means to attain Nibbāna. Yet we find that there were many laws which were based on the Brahmanic rules of celibacy and asceticism. And hence instead of acknowledging the merits of contemporaneous institutions, the Buddha prefers to pay a tribute to the ancient sages like Yamataggi etc., in spite of the fact that they belong to the Brahmanic fold.

¹Baluz, *History of Prebuddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 241. 'The names of these two ancient jurists became proverbial in the time of the Buddha, as many be judged from the latter's expression 'Sankha-Lakṣita Brahmachariya'. Buddha, however, has entirely lost sight of the historical significance of the expression.'

peculiarity of the rules lies in the structure and formation which are so distinct from any ecclesiastic laws. As for example in the ancient law codes of the Hindus those of Gautama, Vasiṣṭha etc. the rules are given as they are, they allude only to things one should practise or discard. The Ācāraṅgasūtra of the Jains also gives mere laws one after another coupled with religious discourses. The Vinaya rules however retain the legendary spirit in them. Each rule is linked to an episode supposed to be the natural source of that rule. Even for an ordinary minute and insignificant rule the historical episode is indispensable. This system has one advantage viz., we can get a proper notion about the adaptability and practical value of each rule. The love of the Buddhists however for these episodes was sometimes carried to such a ridiculous extent that many of the episodes have lost their gloss and tend to be drab and meaningless, instead of creating interest they bring a dry, changeless monotony to the Vinaya Piṭaka. Sometimes they even seem to be invented. As for example it is said that a monk took away clothes from a corpse when the spirit of the dead person had not departed. The corpse warned him not to take away what belonged to him, but the monk did not pay any heed to it and started homewards. The corpse followed him to his residence and troubled him so much that he was compelled to give up the clothes.¹ Nearly all the Chabbaggiya episodes are of this type, whenever any safeguard for an offence had to be laid down the offence was often 'made up' by linking it up with the almost imaginary figures of the Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis. The authentic core of these episodes

¹ Vinaya III p. 58

48 THE ORIGIN & NATURE OF THE VINAYA LAWS

therefore is doubtful. There are some episodes which do not fit in with the rule that follows them e.g. the episode of Dhaniya Kumbhārakaputta is not quoted in accordance with the second *Paṭiṣkā*¹. Similarly the episode connected with Nissaggiya XV has no bearing upon the rule. The historical background of the Vinaya rules thus appears perforate.

Convention. Dispensing with these inner sources we shall turn to the real historical origin of the Vinaya-rules. We cannot disregard the roots of legal institutions merely because they happen to be embedded in antiquity. Tradition is a great storehouse of the unwritten historical material from which many ideas can be drawn. The laws of the Vinaya also owe a good deal to tradition as the laws suiting any sane and practical institution must needs do. Buddhism and Jainism are different in their ethical and religious outlook from Brahmanism yet no religion in the world is in the real sense of the term so original as to break off completely from the beaten path. Especially, in a conservative and past-loving country like ancient India even the idea of smashing the tradition seems improbable. The Buddha himself never wished it. He never meant to find a new way to salvation. He only remodelled customs which were worn out and out of place.

The grip of convention or custom upon the law is always firm. The laws based directly on custom are known as customary laws and they are supposed to grow slowly

¹ Vinaya III, p. 41

² Vinogradoff *Common Sense in Law*, p. 34

out of public opinion¹ and are considered as valid as laws promulgated by legislators or formulated by professionally trained judges since their sanctification comes from long usage". The Hindu laws are known for their sole dependence on custom, but the laws of the Vinaya also have mostly their antecedents in nothing else but custom. The Hindu law-givers looked upon three things as the sources of the law viz (1) Veda (2) Smṛiti and (3) Ācāra (custom)². But since the Buddha did not believe in the former two sources custom was all the more important in the formation of the Vinaya laws and that is one of the reasons why public censure and recommendations had so much effect on the origin and evolution of these laws.

After a close scrutiny of the Vinaya-laws one finds out that the framework of these rules is essentially based on tradition while the details and the legal methods are the invention of the Buddhists. The rules as a fact are taken from the ancient law-codes, the Upanisads, topical environment etc. The rules borrowed from the Dharmasutras are generally taken from the injunctions of the two institutions viz the Brahmacharya and asceticism.

Contribution of Brahmacharya

Rules borrowed from the Brahmacharya institution

Out of the innumerable rules which are drawn upon the

¹ Vinogradoff, *Common Sense in Law*, p. 31.

² *Ibid*, p. 134.

³ Manusmṛiti, I. Also Gautama, I, 1-3, Buddhajīna,

I, 1-7. Vasīṣṭha, I, 1-6, Jaṇasvīkya, I, 1-9.

code for the Brahmacharin only a few important ones will be discussed here. Begging is the chief of all. The ancient law enjoins that early in the morning the pupil residing with his teacher should gather alms for himself. After coming back he should show the teacher what he has got and then partake of the food¹. Gotama imposes almost the same duties on the Sādhvīharikas. The only difference was that the Samanas had to don their robes properly on their persons and collect alms in an iron bowl instead of a wooden one.

Like the Brahmacharin the diet of the Bhikkhu also was curtailed and restricted. Both could not partake of wine or any intoxicating liquor, food with condiments in it, etc². The control of palate was extremely rigorous in both the cases with the exception that the Buddhist monk could take animal food³ while the student was forbidden to touch it⁴.

In the early years of the Order, a Bhikkhu was not allowed to wear any footwear following on the custom of the student, but later on the use was sanctioned under some bindings⁵. The internal management of the Sangha was exactly based on the principles of the Hindu precepts

¹ *Gautama*, I, 2, 45, *Āpastamba*, I, 1, 2, 22

² *Cullavagga*, XII, 1, 16, *Gautama*, II, 19, *Āpastamba*, I, 1, 2, 23

³ *Cullavagga*, VII, 3, 15

⁴ *Gautama*, II, 19, *Āpastamba*, I, 1, 2, 23

⁵ *Mahavagga*, V, 1, 30, *Gautama*, II, 19, *Āpastamba*, I, 2, 7, 5

about the relations between the tutor and the taught. That the teacher and the pupil have to look upon each other as the father and the son that the pupil should have no secrets from the teacher he must be a ready servant to the preceptor¹ etc. are the ideas which are essentially based on the ancient tradition². (The Vinaya Pitaka has gone only one step ahead in enjoining that not only the preceptors but all elders of the Sangha must be treated with reverence)³. Even the terms *Antevāsika*⁴ and *Upajjhaya* are borrowed from the early books.

The regulations about the relation between the student and the teacher in the Vinaya Pitaka, are an expanded and revised edition of the rules to be met with in the law code of the Hindus. Every possible relation between the two is aptly dealt with.

The influence of the institution of Jatis The regulations made by Gotama bearing upon the contemporaneous monastic practices are equally important and to be met with in every nook and corner of the Vinaya. The Mahavagga tells us that Gotama converted 1000 Jātilas and 250 followers of Sanjaya. The second and the third of the four

¹ *Mahavagga*, I, 25, I, 32, I, 35-37, I, 53

² *Gautama*, I, 1, 10, I, 2, 32-38—*Chandogya-Upanisad*, VI, 14 *Akṣhaya Upanisad*, II, 8—also insists on the necessity of the teacher in the spiritual matters. *Āpastamba*, I, 2-6 *Bauddhayana*, I, 2, 24, also 29-33 *Saṅkhalikita*, p. 11-13

³ *Cullavagga*, VI, 6, 4

⁴ *Āpastamba*, I, 2, 8, 26

52 THE ORIGIN & NATURE OF THE VINAYA LAWS

Nissayas¹ are chiefly based on customs observed by the Paṇḍityakas

The Buddha proposes the Bhikkhu to wear worn out rags picked up from the dust heap. Same are the instructions of Gautama the law giver to the Bhikkhu who has renounced the world², the latter however, unlike the Buddha allows only one garment, the loin cloth, to a recluse. The rule about dwelling under a tree originates from the same sources³.

Gautama urges, wandering upon a recluse all the year round, only during the rains can he remain in one place⁴. The elaborate and exhaustive rules about the Vassa⁵ in the Pitakas indicate nothing more but an inclination towards the current customs which the Tittihyas followed.

In the matter of food also many of the restrictions on accepting food at a particular time etc. were handed down to the Buddhists by tradition alone. There is an interesting little episode about it. An ascetic by the name Keniya, when the Buddha was in his vicinity said to himself that the ancient Rsis and Brahmins, like Atthaka, Vamaka, Vamadeva etc., were abstainers from food at night and abstainers of food at wrong times, yet they used to receive

¹ *Mahavagga*, I, 30. The Nissayas are (1) to live by begging (2) to wear rags thrown on the dust heap, (3) to live under a tree, and (4) to use cow's urine as medicine.

² *Gautama*, I, 3, 17-18.

³ *Gautama*, I, 3, 13, *Mahavagga*, I, 30, 25.

⁴ *Gautama*, I, 3, 12.

⁵ *Mahavagga*, III, 1, 1.

such things as drinks. Gotama also did not accept food at odd times, why should he, then, not accept like the ancient sages drinkable things? The ascetic, therefore, on this plea, prepared a drink and brought it to Gotama. As the ascetic had predicted, Gotama did accept the drink and declared his permission to the Bhikkhus to accept drinks¹

Uposatha in older literature The ascetics, as the Mahavagga reports, used to hold assemblies on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month² (which custom in its turn was borrowed from the sacrificial rites called the Darśa and Purnamāsa sacrifices)³. On the suggestion of King Bimbisara the Buddha also made the rule that the Uposatha meetings must be held twice a month⁴. Hence forward the Uposatha meetings became the main source of vitality on the Buddhist Sangha. It is to be borne in mind that the Uposatha meetings were quite different in their nature and structure from the meetings of the Tittthiyas or ascetics.

The Ājivakas held sunshades over their head, and the Bhikkhus also adopted the custom⁵. Like the Tittthiyas, again, they got their cells white washed, floor coloured black and the walls coloured with red chalk⁶.

¹ *Mahavagga*, VI, 35

² *Ibid* II, 1

³ *Śatapatha-Brahmana*, II, 1, 4, I, 1

⁴ *Mahavagga*, II, 4.

⁵ *Cullavagga*, V, 23, 2-3

⁶ *Ibid*, VI, 3, 1

The Tittthiyas or ascetics by their contrast with the Buddhists were again a source of many of the laws in the Vinaya Pitaka as for example the Buddhists were forbidden to receive food in their hands because the Tittthiyas did so¹ for the same reason, the bowl of a Bhikkhu if made of wood² and gourd for water pots involved a Dukkata offence³ The Parivasa or probation rule also was made particularly for the Tittthiyas since the Buddhists thought them less competent and steady⁴ The doctrine of Akiriya-vāda (non action) also was resorted to by Gotama as a protest against the Tittthiyas⁵

Some of the Tittthiyas were advocates of nudity thinking it to be favourable to moderation and content to the eradication of evil, to the suppression of passions⁶ etc, and others made garments of grass of hair, of the skin of wild animals viz deer etc All these things were stopped expressly by Gotama, by framing special rules the violation of which would be a 'grave offence'

Popular opinion The wagging tongue of the public is another source of the majority of the Vinaya-rules In all countries and at all times the public tongue is always an efficacious reformer, so was it in the time of the Buddha The Sangha being solely dependent on the people

¹ *Mahavajja*, I, 70, 1

² *Cullavagga*, V, 8, 2

³ *Ibid*, V, 10, 1

⁴ *Mahavagga*, I, 38

⁵ *Ibid*, VI, 31, 12 31

⁶ *Ibid*, VIII, 28, 2

⁷ *Ibid*.

for ration and clothings Gotama and his disciples were always ready to consider reasonable complaints and suggestions of the public.

The rules made on account of public comment are innumerable and generally to be met with quite frequently in the Vinaya Pitaka. The slightest mishap or shortcoming of the Bhikkhus did not escape public detection, and consequently then scornful remarks thereon. The public took a keen notice of Bhikkhus if they dispensed with bowls, accepted alms in their hands¹, if they went out not donning on their robes properly², when they did not keep Vassa (rain retreat) in the beginning³, if they kept Vassa in the hollow of trees, cattlepens etc.⁴, if they stored unnecessary goods in their Viharas⁵, if the Bhikkhus entertained themselves with secular enjoyments⁶ and so on. The complaints are thus an outcome of the shortcomings and lapses on the part of the Bhikkhus which caused some inconvenience to the public, but there are many other things, concerning the Sangha with which the public were not apparently concerned and with which they would interfere. Now holding the Uposatha meetings was a thing with which only the inmates of the Sangha were primarily concerned. In the beginning when the Sangha had just determined to have Uposatha meetings after the

¹ *Mahavagga*, I, 70, 1.

² *Ibid*, I, 70, 4.

³ *Ibid*, III, 1, 1

⁴ *Ibid*, III, 12

⁵ *Ibid*, VI, 15, 9

⁶ *Cullavagga*, V, 2, 6

56 THE ORIGIN & NATURE OF THE VINAYA LAWS

fashion of the Tittthiyas the members remained silent when they assembled there was no preaching of Dhamma. The people who had come to hear Dhamma became annoyed murmured and denounced the silence of Bhikkhus on the occasion and hence came the Patimokkha to be recited in the Uposatha assemblies¹. The people also interfered when the novices were forbidden the food which is to be taken with mouth² (10 drinkable things). These instances will suffice to show how effective public criticism was even in the innermost affairs of the Sangha. I-Tsing seems to have made a special note of it, he says: Our great Master was in the habit of avoiding first of all peoples murmurs and slander while managing the affairs according to circumstances³.

But the lay people did not do the work of fault-finders only. Many an influential devotee exerting his or her pressure on the Buddha helped the Sangha from time to time and got many a rule made or amended. Bimbisara the king of Magadha was the first man who interfered with the inner working of the Sangha. It was through his suggestion that the Buddha accepted the custom of holding the Uposatha meetings⁴. Jivaka the skilful physician offered Gotama a silk mantle, now accepting such a gift was evidently against the original rule of wearing only the robe made of cast off rags. Gotama had therefore by giving his consent to Jivaka to revise the

¹ *Mañjara*, II, 3, 1

² *Ibid.*, I, 57, 3

³ *T'ai Tsang, I-Tsing*, p. 132

⁴ *Mañjara*, II, 1

rule by sanctioning silk robes¹. Similarly the acceptance of dinner invitations was a departure from the original rule of begging: it was the request of Mendakka the householder, through whom the change was effected². Visakha Migamamata also was a lady with considerable influence in the Sangha. It was she who stopped the nuns from bathing in the same place with courtesans³, and when Gotama had forbidden them to bathe naked provided them with bathing suits⁴, as a boon she also provided the Bhikkhus with rainy-season robes⁵. Visakha's activities were not restricted to Bhikkhuni-Sangha alone. The rule that Pabbajja should be conferred on men even in the rainy season was due to her⁶. The sanction of accepting land for the sake of the Sangha was due to Anathapindika's offering the Jetavana-Vihara to Gotama⁷.

Suggestions of Bhikkhus Many rules again are an outcome of the suggestions made by the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis. As for example it was through the suggestion of Ānanda that admission to the Sangha was granted to women⁸. Because of Gotama's request to the Buddha to allow bathing to women (as some of them were of evil smell)

¹ *Mahavagga*, VIII, 1 35

² *Ibid*, VI, 34

³ *Cullavagga*, X, 27

⁴ *Mahavagga*, VIII, 15, 11

⁵ *Ibid*, VIII, 15, 11

⁶ *Ibid*, III, 13 1-2

⁷ *Cullavagga*, VI, 4

⁸ *Ibid*, X, 1

58 THE ORIGIN & NATURE OF THE VINAYA LAWS

that most of the rules about bathing in the Bhikkhuni-Pacittiya came to be made¹. No other Bhikkhuni except Gotami made herself so bold, as to suggest any change in the routine of the Sangha. She being the senior-most of the Bhikkhunis became the mouthpiece of the whole of the Bhikkhuni-Sangha. Gotami had also made an attempt to repeal certain restrictions laid on the Bhikkhunis in relation to their salutation, to the Bhikkhus² but it was not crowned with success.

Lapses. There is yet another class, and the biggest class too, of the Vinaya-laws, which came to be declared on account of the lapses on the part of the inmates of Sangha. The long list of the Patimokkha for the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis are nothing but a record of the various offences committed by the brethren and sisters on various occasions and under various circumstances. All such rules are negative in character. One of the reasons for this characteristic is that the rules were not declared by Gotama by predicament of the offences but after the actual result of the misdeeds. Even the most important rule like observing strict celibacy in the Sangha was declared, after Sudinna had violated chastity through ignorance³. The rest of the three Pirapakas and the thutteen Sanghadikas are all of the same nature. In the list of offences not only serious offences but also the slightest and sometimes ridiculous slips are recorded.

¹ Vinaya, IV, p. 262

² Cullavagga, V, 1

³ Vinaya, III, pp. 15-21

There are indeed very few laws which came into being for the r own sake without any outward suggestion or a lapse. To this class belong the four Nissayas which are the foundation of the disciplinary rules. The eight Garudhammas¹ for the women too can be included in the same.

There are some rules which were used as preventive against some difficulties and were accordingly temporary bindings. Says Gotama on one occasion. The things which I have prescribed for the Bhikkhus in a time of scarcity when the harvest is bad and alms are difficult to obtain, keeping food indoors, cooking it indoors and cooking it of one's own accord, taking what they can pick up, eating food brought from without or received before the meal time, eating things found in woods or pools, these things the Bhikkhus enjoy now also.² So also, where it was not possible to travel without supplies for the journey, the Bhikkhus were allowed to take with them milk, curds, ghee, buttermilk and butter etc.³ Some rules sanctioned privileges to some Bhikkhus only. As for example, the Sakyas were excluded from the probation period.⁴ The Bhikkhus living in the countries of Avanti⁵ and extreme North were allowed special privileges on account of their limited number and climatic conditions. Kassapa who wanted to be more austere in his religious

¹*Cullavagga*, X, 1

²*Mahāvagga*, VI, 32

³*Ibid*, VI, 34, 2

⁴*Ibid*, I, 38, 11

⁵*Ibid*, V, 13

practices was sanctioned the privilege of the Dhutangas¹ (i. e. leading a more austere life)

Tradition The first portion of the Brahmajala Suttanta lays down the rules that a Bhikkhu should not enjoy himself with festivals, music acrobatic performances etc. The same rule is found in the Jain Sutras also²

Similarly, the first Parajika rule of the Vinaya that no sexual pleasures should be enjoyed either with gods, men or animals is also found in almost the same wording in the Jain Sutras³. Another important rule of the Vinaya that faults must be confessed, and the idea that sin becomes less after confession which is also mentioned by the Jains⁴, can be traced back to the Brahmana-period. It was a custom that when a sacrifice was to be performed the Purohita (priest) used to ask the Yajamanaratni (wife of the householder) about her moral purity, before the performance of the rite her confession of sin or purity was considered essential, for 'when confessed sin becomes less, since it becomes truth'⁵

Also the rule that a Bhikkhu should have a water strainer with him⁶, is found in the Jain Sutras⁷ as well as

¹Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, I, p. 219, *Vinaya*, V, p. 193

²Jacobi, *Jain Sutras*, I, 184

³Jacobi, *Jain Sutras*, I, p. 207, also *Vasistha*, X, 28

⁴Jacobi, *Jain Sutras*, II, p. 112

⁵*Satapatha Brahmana* I, 2, 5, 16

⁶*Mahavagga*, VIII, 27, 5

⁷Jacobi, *Jain Sutras* I, 1, 3-7

the Dharmasutia of Bauddhayana¹ Similarly many of the Sekhiya rules regarding the manner of eating food, such as one must not make noise while eating, one must eat the whole lump of food at a time, one must not shake ones hands to and fro while eating etc., are an outcome of the rules given in the Dharmasutia of Āpastamba²

In the Śatapatha-Brahmana it is said that wild beasts like a lion as well as a camel etc. should not be eaten since they were not offered in sacrifice³ Bauddhayana says only Pancanakhas (animals with five toes) should be eaten⁴ The Buddhists also follow the same custom and do not eat beasts of burden as well as other forbidden animals⁵

In the Mahavagga⁶ the Buddha lays down a rule, 'Of seedlings grown upon private ground the Bhaga (half the produce) oh Bhikkhus, you may have when you have given a part to the private owner Of seedlings grown upon the ground, the property of the Sangha, you may have the share when you have given a part to the private owner Buddhaghosa says that the rule is an accordance with the ancient custom of India⁷

Pacittiya XXXVII forbade the Bhikkhus taking meals at odd hours since they used to dine any time This

¹ Bauddhayana, II, 6, 11, 24-5

² Āpastamba, 8, 19, 5-12

³ Śatapatha-Brahmana, VII, 4, 2, 32-7

⁴ Bauddhayana, I, 5, 131-134

⁵ Mahavagga, VI, 23, 10, VI, 31, 14

⁶ Mahavagga, VI, 40, 1

⁷ Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Jinaya-Texts*, II, p 143

habit was due more to custom than carelessness on the part of the Bhikkhus. Megasthenes says They (Indians) eat always alone and that they have no fixed hours when meals are to be taken by all in common but each one eats when he feels inclined.¹

Gotama had also to make rules in compliance with the requirement of the state. Soldiers and convicts were not allowed to enter the Sangha.² Elephants being of great use to the state the monks were forbidden to eat their flesh, the violation of the rule caused a Dukkata.³

Throwing even a quick glance at the Vinaya laws one can see the details they aim at. Sometimes the details are so unnecessary and crowding that they bore the reader. The rules as to how a Bhikkhu should bathe⁴ how he should clean his teeth⁵ and wash his clothes how he should put his dress on⁶ etc. make the books of Vinaya very dull and monotonous. Had it not been for these details and repetition the bulky volume of the Vinaya would not be more than a neat middlesized book of about a hundred and fifty pages. But the love of details was a marked characteristic of the ancient Indians the Buddhists included. The Dharmasutra of Gautama and others also enter into a detailed prescription of the minutest rules regarding daily life. These detailed accounts however bring hidden blessings

¹ M Crindle, *Ancient India* p. 69

Mahavagga I, 39

² *Ibid*, VI, 23-10

³ *Ibid* I, 25 V, 13

⁴ *Cullavagga*, V, 31

⁵ *Ibid*, V, 29

with them , but for them we understand to day what the exact mentality and the social condition of the people were then . It is easier for us to reconstitute the daily life of an ancient Indian than for the Europeans to do that of ancient Greeks or Romans

CHAPTER IV.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE VINAYA LAWS

The evolution of a long standing institution is perhaps more interesting than its origin. It is by the process of evolution that the real mettle of the adherents and their principles are put to a thorough test and the traits of growth and dissolution become vividly visible thereby.

Antecedents of Evolution

(1) Evolution is indicative of growth, and many of the changes in the Vinaya-rules are due to the growing activities of Sangha. With the fame of the Buddha, grew the number of the adherents of the Sangha, with the increase of this number the inconveniences, lapses and other shortcomings became more noticeable. To make the life in the Sangha worth-living many a warning had to be prescribed many rules were to be amplified or modified, and many precepts were altogether to be given up according to the pressing needs of the Sangha. It seems, there were originally only 150 rules¹ which gradually evolved and formed 227 rules altogether and probably the Sekkhiyas and the two Ariyata rules were later additions. Similarly, the Four Prohibitions' (Cattari Akaramani)² developed into the Parajikas.

(2) The laws of the Buddha were besides handed down by word of mouth. It is natural therefore as time

¹ *Anguttara Nikaya*, I, p. 230

² *Mahavagga*, I, 78

passed and the laws came to be repeated, many details should gradually have been added to the original rules.

(3) Lapses and many a time misunderstanding or twisting of the original rule also have a considerable share in bringing about a change in most of the precepts of the Vinaya. That is how almost all the rules were either amplified or were coupled with bye-laws and corollaries. Thus, for instance, the first Parajika developed not into Sanghadisesa but various Thullaccaya and Dukkata rules also which came to be appended to them till they formed a body of laws relating to sexual offences. So each and every rule in the Vibhanga is not only linked with these minor rules but also supplemented with various episodes of secondary importance which suggest the possibilities of lapses. The laws thus became more explicit and embraced even the minutest details. The process of evolution of the laws did not however stop even with this much change. Cases involving exceptions were taken into account and the laws were restated in a final form with exceptions appended to them. This in short, is the history of practically each and every rule as it is recorded in the Vibhanga. Thus we find the code of the Patimokkha, originally not very big, being supplemented with the Khandhakas, thus making the Vinaya-Pitaka on the whole a very complicated and an enormously bulky code of law. Even the Nikayas seem to be affected, though very slightly, by these laws, since we find a few explanatory notes regarding the laws, here and there.

(4) Difficulties have a considerable share in bringing about a change in most of the precepts of the Vinaya, as for

instance, in the early days of the Order novices were ordained by the Buddha himself with the simple formula of 'Ehi Bhikkhu' etc but as the branches of the Sangha spread all over the northern half of India and as crowds upon crowds of people pressed for ordination it was impossible for any single person to give individual attention to all these candidates. The right of ordination was thus passed over to the qualified delegates. The simple utterance of the Buddha was changed into a more elaborate procedure of ordination.¹ More difficulties arose when these delegates committed many blunders through ignorance and thus gave rise to a complicated and detailed prescription of rules about the qualification of the one who gave ordination and to the one who received it.² This change became so effective in a few years that the original formula was totally deserted.

Similarly, many difficulties arose when a number of Bhikkhus stayed together in the Vassa, regarding the preservation and distribution of robes, and hence follow the various rules about Kathina (clothing).

(5) Another reason for the evolution of the laws in the Sangha is the permission given by the Buddha to the Sangha that it could abolish minor rules if necessary.³ In the absence of this licence the discussion over the ten legal points in the Council of Vesali would not have been so hot and fruitless.

¹ *Mahavagga*, I, 24, 4

² *Ibid*, I, 28

³ *Ibid*, I, 28

⁴ Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, II, p. 171

The nature of the change The elasticity of the Vinaya-rules makes them subject to change according to circumstances. These changes sometimes altogether eliminate the original rule. The difficulties and emergencies, as we have already seen, are quite common, natural and even insignificant, and thus the change they bring about in the Vinaya-rules and ultimately in the life of Sangha does not involve any serious damage either to the laws or the Sangha. But there are cases where the latitude given by the Buddha, tends to give a serious blow to the whole structure of the rules. The Anguttara-Nikaya furnishes us with a striking and unique story, when Vajjaputtaka Bhikkhu said to the Buddha that it would be difficult for him to practise the hundred and fifty rules which were recited every fortnight, the Buddha asked him whether he would be able to practise the three Sikkhas viz. Adhāsa, Adhicitta, and Adhapaṇṇa, to which the Bhikkhu replied in the affirmative¹. This story if the Nikayas were to be trusted, leads to the violation of one of the most fundamental rules that the Paṭimokkha must be recited every fortnight². On account of this singular episode the emphasis and the solemnity attached to the ritual and the code of Paṭimokkha are reduced to uncertainty and littleness. In the Vinaya-texts themselves such contradictions are not wanting. The Buddha rebukes Pindola Bharadvāja for obtaining the sandalwood bowl from the Setthi of Rajagaha by displaying Iddhi and makes a rule to prohibit the display of any magical power, the transgression of which involved a Dukkata

¹Anguttara-Nikāya, I, p. 230.

²Mahavagga, II, 9.

offence¹ This rule is in positive contradiction to the one given in the 4th Pārajika Similarly one of the ten Sikkhapadas (rules), states that a Bhikkhu must not accept garlands perfumes etc² This rule was contradicted by another injunction of the Buddha that the Bhikkhus could accept those things from the lay-people who came to see the Viharas The change was effected here through the principle that lay-people should on no account be displeased³

Inconsistency is also to be noticed in the two rules regarding the Vassa that (1) Senasana (beds and lodgings) could be claimed only for the three months of the Vassa⁴ and (2) that on the Antaramuttaka day — the day after the Pavaraṇā, allotments should be made for the next Vassa⁵

The Nissayas The development of the simple Nissayas in course of time into a code of various rules leads to numerous contradictions, and virtually the Nissayas came to be a mere matter of taste and option

(a) The first Nissaya allows food obtained by begging alone, and there are elaborate rules laid down for the collection of alms⁶ But gradually the control over palate was relaxed as the householders gave perpetual alms to the Sangha⁷, as the followers of the Ājīvakas provided

¹Cullavagga, V, 8, 2

²Mahavagga, I, 56

³Cullavagga, V, 18

⁴Ibid VI, 11, 3

⁵Ibid, VI, 11, 4

⁶Ibid, VIII, 5, 2

⁷Ibid, IV, 4, 6

the day's meal for the Sangha¹ or a regular service of sweet food was kept at Vesali². This led to the accepting of invitations for dinners and was to be sanctioned by law, and meals after meals followed when the Bhikkhus put up in big cities. A Brahmin thought it a nice way of procuring food, without any effort. He joined the order. When the arrangement of successive meals came to an end the Bhikkhus asked him to come with them on the begging tour, but he refused to do so and said that he had not chosen religious life for hardship but for his belly's sake. The Buddha on hearing this case gave his verdict that begging formed a regular duty in a Bhikkhu's life, meals were an extra allowance³. But when Devadatta pressed on the Buddha to confine the Bhikkhu's food to alms alone, he refused, saying that people who wanted to live by alms alone could very well do so, which need not be a binding for all⁴.

(b) The second Nissaya about wearing robes made of cast off rags, also has to face the same inconsistency. Even the course of option does not seem open here. The evolution in this Nissaya started under similar circumstances, though the generosity of the Upasakas who provided the Sangha with clothes⁵ etc., until at last the rule just contradictory to the original Nissaya was declared. This rule states 'You are not, oh Bhikkhus, to take a vow

¹*Cullavagga*, V, 14, 1

²*Ibid*, VI, 10, 1

³*Mahāvagga*, I, 30

⁴*Cullavagga*, V, 8, 2

⁵*Mahāvagga*, VIII, 15, 7, VIII, 321, I, 35

to wear or to use nothing except what you procure from dust heaps or cemeteries, whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *Dukkaṭṭa*¹

(c) The third and fourth Nissayas, about living under a tree and taking cow's urine alone for medicine underwent gradual change and lost their original assertiveness. The story of evolution of the third Nissaya, however, is more interesting and points to the growth of Buddhist cœnobium. The latitude given by the Buddha is as liberal as in the case of the first Nissaya. The evolution began with the sanction of the Buddha for accepting five kinds of buildings². The *Vihāras* were equipped with doors, windows, stairs, furniture like chairs, divans, bedsteads, armchairs etc³. Special arrangement was made for sleeping rooms. The colour of the floor was black. The walls were coloured with red chalk and the rooms were white washed⁴. Even large parks were allowed⁵, and what is most contrary to the spirit of simplicity of the Buddhist Bhikkhus is that even park-keepers were allowed to them for the keeping up of these pleasure groves. The Bhikkhu *Pilindavaccha* was granted by *Bimbisara* five hundred *Āramikas* (park keepers) who formed a separate village by themselves⁶. Cœnobetic life came into practice probably at the time represented by the *Cullavagga* when *Dabba* of the

¹*Cullavagga*, V, 10, 2

²*Mahavagga* I, 30, III, 5, *Cullavagga*, VI, 2

³*Cullavagga*, VI, 2-4, V, 14, 2

⁴*Ibid*, VI, 3, 1

⁵*Ibid*, VI, 4

⁶*Ibid*, VI, 15, 2

Mallas was appointed as the superintendent of the lodgings and apportioner of the rations¹. The Sangha by this time was no longer in a strict sense the Sangha of the four quarters but each Āvāsa was looked upon as a self sufficient unit and called a Sangha by itself². This change is explained by Nagasena's reply to Milinda that the Sangha becomes easily accessible by having a localized centre³. Special rules were framed for the sake of Āraññāla (living in the forest) Bhikkhus alone⁴.

The authority of the Nissayas thus no longer remained binding though the Nissayas as a matter of formality were retained in the Vinaya rules and were still to be told to each Bhikkhu when he was ordained⁵. Not only the Nissayas but many other rules have become obsolete through the same causes and are retained in similar manner owing to the Theravada spirit of neither omitting nor adding anything extra to what the Buddha himself laid down. Most of the Sanghadisesa rules have also become obsolete in the sense that the penalties of Parivāsa and Manatta prescribed thereon are changed to milder ones. As for example the tenth Sanghadisesa enjoins that a schismatic would be charged and dealt with Manatta and Parivāsa and the Mahāvagga suggests expulsion⁶ but according to the Cullavagga the offence causes only rebuke

¹Cullavagga VI, 4, 4

²Mahāvagga, II, 34, 10

³Tenckner, *Milindapañha*, p. 24

⁴Cullavagga, VII, 6

⁵Mahāvagga, I, 36, 1

⁶Ibid, I, 67

and not a strong punishment as before¹ What holds good in the case of the Sanghadisesa rules holds good in the case of many other Vinaya rules which show that their operative power gradually lessened²

Another cause for the amplification and modification of the rules was due to the first great schism in the Sangha caused by Devadatta Devadatta by utmost effort got King Ajatasattu under his control and the pull was felt too hard by the Buddha who was now quite old On account of the necessity to keep control over unruly characters new rules were framed and probably the whole code of the Vinaya rules was revised and amplified It was perhaps at this time the Nissayas became almost invalid, and many a rule regarding schism came to be promulgated³ The rule that no legal question should be raised by a Bhikkhu in the Sangha⁴ is also due to that

Owing to the staying together of a huge number of Bhikkhus and as a result of their colonial life many new rules also came in existence which had practically no bearing on the Nissayas Rules regarding cleanliness and sanitation⁵ come under this category The Vinaya in one place lays down a rule that 'let not two of you go the same way'⁶ But soon this rule was thrown into the background by numerous new rules which instructed the Bhikkhus

¹Cullavagga, VII, 5, 6

²S. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monasteries* pp. 19-21

³Cullavagga VII, 5, ft

⁴*Ibid.*, I, 4

⁵*Ibid.*, VIII, 1 and 2

⁶Mahavagga, I, 11.

how to behave with one another in monastic life¹ This was an outcome of the ideal of corporate life upheld by the Buddha, says the Buddha, that even animals like the partridge and the monkey could stay together and lead the purest sort of life, why then could wise men like the Bhikkhus not stay together loving one another and without transgressing the precepts² ?

There is no clear demarcation between the obsolete, and new rules, between injunctions and prohibitions, and the various rules coming under one head are not gathered up in one comprehensive formula as the modern student of law would naturally expect to have Much confusion ensues from this jumble of rules, neither are these rules divided according to chronology But fortunately, each law as it is put down gives us the name of the place where it came to be framed, and from this round about information scholars have tried to conjecture the rough date of some of these rules The Buddha started framing rules quite early, as difficulties showed themselves in the path of the Sangha For some time, probably, for the first five years, the rules were apparently steady and unchanged Most of these early rules included in the Mahavagga were framed at Rajagaha the favourite haunt of the Buddha in the beginning Rajagaha saw the rise of Vinaya rules, Savatthi the establishment and Vesali their last days³ The idea of fixing rules for the Vassa was born at Rajagaha, but the detailed rules for the guidance of Bhikkhus were

¹ *Cullavagga*, VIII, ft

² *Ibid*, VI, 6, 5.

³ N. Dutt, *Spread of Buddhism*, pp 111-114.

framed at Savatthi. The Vinaya rules framed here and in Kapilavatthu in Kosala were more or less supplementary in character though the largest in number¹. Ten rules (3 Parajika, 2 Nissaggiya-Pacittiya and 3 Pacittiya only can be proved) are said to be framed at Vesali². The rules were thus framed at different places and were changed from time to time.

The eleventh year also proved very eventful in the history of the Buddhist Sangha, many a rule about the clothing e.g., that the robe of the Bhikkhu should be made out of pieces of cloth stitched together like rectangular pieces of land in the rice fields etc., were framed at Dakkhinagiri³, so also, at this time the rule was instituted that a Bhikkhu need not cross a river, as wherever it exists it should be made a boundary of the jurisdiction of a monastery⁴. Many rules affecting the relation between the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis, (as for instance, the 4th and 5th rules of Nissaggiya-Pacittiya) came into being after the Bhikkhuni Sangha was established. This again caused modification and revision of several rules in the Vinaya.

The process of recasting and revising the rules went on incessantly even after the Buddha's death, till an exhaustive compilation of a complex code of the Vinaya was effected not much earlier than the date of the second

¹N. Dutt *Spread of Buddhism*, pp. 150

²*Ibid.*, p. 163

³*Ibid.*, p. 120

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 127

council of Vesālī (which took place between 383-30 B C)¹ Of the rules which were added later to the Patimokkha², after the death of the Buddha, the most obvious are those about Thullaccaya and Dukkata

The Buddhist councils It is essential to examine the legal points raised and discussed at the councils of Rājagaha and Vesālī, in order to study the nature and extent of evolution of these laws Because in both the councils the abolition and change of minor rules and introduction of new ones are the main topics of discussion

Immediately after the death of the Buddha an assembly of five hundred Theras was held under the chairmanship of Mahākassapa in Rājagaha The object of this assembly was to ensure the prestige of the Sangha and prolong and consolidate the precepts of Dhamma and Vinaya The Unity of the Sangha was not yet broken and all the Bhikkhus stood as one unit

¹Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, Introduction pp xxxviii xxxix Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya-Texts*, Pt 1 Introduction, p xxiii, S Dutt following the opinion of Oldenberg and Rhys Davids says a final diakenasis was no doubt made shortly before the council of Vesālī, for the lawyer like manner in which the root points were sought to be decided He presupposed the existence of a complex cadex no longer susceptible of additions or alterations *Early Buddhist Monachism*, p 18 Kosambi on the other hand makes a suggestion that the original 150 of the 227 Patimokkha-rules were in existence before Asoka *Buddha Carita*, Article 5, Vividā-jnana-vistara, 1925

²Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, I, p XX.

The proceedings were serious and simple. Upali was the reciter of the Vinaya and Ānanda of the Dhamma. The council throws a considerable light upon the condition of the Vinaya and its evaluation by the monks. So far we have seen the Buddha alone as the propounder of the Vinaya precepts but henceforward the Sangha with the help of the Ārahats and Vinayadharmas asserted its right to change or preserve the Vinaya as it liked. For the first time the reader of the Vinaya gets the knowledge of the permission of the Buddha to change minor and lesser precepts according to the discretion of the Sangha.¹ Up till now though the Bhikkhus had been fairly independent in carrying out the Sanghammas (tasks) and pronouncing sentence thereon and doing so many other legal duties yet to proclaim a new law in the order or to change an old one had never been their privilege. But now though the Sangha recognised the privilege for the first time it did not consent to exercise it and on common agreement it was finally settled that the precepts should be accepted as they were declared by the Buddha himself.

Besides the various opinions of the Theras as to the specific nature of the important and lesser laws throw a considerable light on the growth and the scope of the Vinaya-laws. A large class of the Theras believed that excepting four Parajikas thirteen Sanghadisesas two Aniyatas thirty Nissaggiyas ninety two Pacittiyas and four Patidesaniyas the rest were lesser and minor offences.² This involved a great change in the Vinaya code, because

¹Cullavagga VI, 1, 9

²Ibid

the Sekhiya rules as well as Thullanaya and Dukkata would be set at naught. The absence of the Sekhiya rules would not create much inconvenience in the Sangha, but that of the latter would bring the Sangha into great trouble since, the laws, and offences coming under the last two heads, touched many a vital point regarding the Sangha, and which were not included in the code of the Patimokkha. This proposal of demarcating between the weighty and lesser laws however, being rejected by the majority who were won by Kassapa, who said that the Upasakas would censure the Bhikkhus if they heard that the Bhikkhus had so changed the precepts of the Buddha, as soon as the master was dead and hence it was much better to follow the rules as they were already laid down.

The plea of Mahakassapa however has a deeper significance than we usually think of, technically, he finds no fault with the suggestion. The lay people at the time of the first council were in a direct and close contact with the Buddha and hence they knew the ins and outs of the Vinaya, just as the Bhikkhus themselves¹, and so their opinion counted much.

The council of Vesali. The second council at Vesali (383-2 B C) however opens a new scene. A hundred and thirty years had rolled into the tide of time since the death of the Buddha. The proceedings of this council are

¹*Sumangala-Vilasini*, II, p. 520. It is said in the Mahavagga (III, 5, 9) that the Bhikkhus could even break their Vassa if a learned householder invited them to learn a Suttanta from him.

more important from the point of the Vinaya than those of the former one. Formerly before there was any disturbance coming forth the Dhamma and the Vinaya were revised and settled. But now there are already manifestations of individual liberty as regards changing or modifying the precepts of the Vinaya in the *Sangha* of the Vajjiputta Samanas, and for each of these liberties they could conveniently find a suitable interpretation in the words of the Buddha, as for example, the Vajjiputta Samanas who lived a life of comfort, offered Thera Revata and other staunch Bhikkhus, clothes and other requisites, but they refused them saying that since they possessed all they could wish (i.e. the three robes) they did not wish for anything more. Really speaking they (Revata and others) were right as far as they stuck to the injunction of the Buddha that a Bhikkhu had not to accumulate more things than necessary. But the Vajjiputta Bhikkhus did not take their words for truth, they said that it was no fault to accept the requisites they had brought, since they had heard that the Buddha never refused any such present made to him, and accepted all such things. The accounts of the Mahavagga and the Cullavagga confirm this statement of the Vajjiputta Bhikkhus, and hence in spite of the love of affluence and comfort of the Vajjiputta Samanas, I can see them in this argument, maintaining their position technically very well. They might be censured for greed, but not in the way they interpreted the action of the Buddha and tried to compare it with that of the renowned Thera Revata. We thus see that technically both the parties were right in their own way, and the words of the Buddha or properly speaking

the laws of the Vinaya proclaimed by him became liable to different interpretations

The ten points Without engaging ourselves in the futile discussion as to the reality and the effect of the ten points we shall see how far they really affected the spirit of the Vinaya

The first point The first of the ten points is the 'Singilona-Kappa', allowing the Bhikkhus carrying salt in a horn, which is a very minor rule and though in the whole of the Vinaya-Pitaka there is no mention made about salt before this occasion. The present issue apparently is more recent than the passages in Mahavagga VI it is said that the Bhikkhus were allowed to store various food stuffs in case of need e.g. in illness, they were all of course temporary measures. In the present case however, the antecedent which led to the declaration of this and other rules is hidden from us and the rules are presented as a direct outcome of the unbecoming behaviour of the Vajjiputta Bhikkhus. To us modern people advocating personal liberty in all respects the liberty taken by these Bhikkhus even if it was not strictly lawful, is not likely to strike as an offence because the license they had taken was a very small one and perhaps originated through some inconvenient circumstances. But to the ancient people it did not strike so. The liberty may not be actually bordering on an offence but it undoubtedly pointed to the growing tendency among the Bhikkhus to handle the precepts of the Vinaya any way they liked, the depth of the offence was immaterial. And that is why in these ten points there is distinction made

between lesser and important points and all are given equal treatment. The first point thus though it did not go against any obvious law of the Vinaya was likely to instigate Bhikkhus to disobey Pacittiya XXXVIII, which forbade the Bhikkhus from storing any food.

The second point The second point 'Angula-Kappa' was a more serious point, because it really went against the precepts of the Vinaya, viz. Pacittiya XXXVII that meals should not be taken at wrong hours, and after mid day. The Nikayas also stand as a direct proof of the popularity and growth of this rule.¹ And though the offence was only a Pacittiya offence, it could not be overlooked as a legal flaw.

The third point The third point 'Gamantara-Kappa' e.g., going to the neighbouring village and taking a second meal there, was a sequence of the second point and violated in the same manner Pacittiya XXXV.

The fourth point The fourth point, 'Āvāsa-Kappa', namely, the observance of the Uposatha in different places within the same parish, not only went against Mahavagga II, 8, 3, but was very important from the legal point of view. This latitude would not only give rise to schisms in the Sangha, but to the promulgation of any sort of laws by any sort and any number of Bhikkhus, without the slightest regard to tradition. And with the growing sense of independence in the various legal points, causing different laws to be amended or cancelled, would result in either wiping out or shadowing the original laws of the Vinaya.

¹ *Majjhima-Nikaya*, I, pp. 447-8, 473.

The preservation of the Dhamma and the Vinaya as they were proclaimed by the Buddha, was the chief aim strength and the beauty of the Theravada Buddhism, and thus looking at the case from this point of view alone I think, that the interference of Yasa and others to check this tendency is justifiable

The fifth point The 'Anumata Kappa', i.e. doing an act and obtaining sanction for it afterwards was another serious offence from legal point of view like the former case, and violated the rule laid down in Mahāvagga IX, 3, 5

The sixth point The 'Acinna-Kappa', i.e. permission given to a Bhikkhu to do anything adopted as a practice by his Upajjhaya. Now this rule if the spirit of the Brahmanic and Buddhist tradition of the relation between the pupil and teacher is taken into account, cannot be looked upon as unlawful. But it is also said in the Vinaya Pitaka that if the teacher was going astray it was a bound duty of the pupil to bring his case before the Sangha and get him sentenced properly¹, and looking at it in this light it might pass as leading to an offence. The words of this Kappa however, are so ambiguous abrupt and concise that the gist of the passage cannot be clearly grasped, and as I have already shown the words can be interpreted either way. The exact significance of the rule not being known we are forced to withhold our justification or censure of either party

The seventh and the eighth points The next two Kappas, eating curds after mid-day and Jalogipata Kappa

¹ Mahāvagga, I, 25, 21

(permission to drink unfermented toddy) were exactly of the same nature as the second and third points, and tended to transgress Pacittiya XXXVII and LI respectively

The ninth point The Adasalam Nisidanam (use of a borderless sheet to sit on) was like the preceding two points a very insignificant violation and going against Pacittiya LXXXIX

The tenth point The tenth point Jataruppiatam however is a most weighty point since it allowed the acceptance of gold and silver to the Bhikkhus. This rule brought a serious change in the economic life of the Sangha, and tended to convert the whole spirit of the ancient Indian recluse-doctrine of non possession. The rule went against Nissaggiya-Pacittiya XVIII, and one can in no way justify this action of the Vajjiputta Bhikkhus in any way. No perversity of circumstances can explain it as in the case of the first point, neither can tradition and custom shield it. This is the only Kappa which exposes the Vajjiputta Bhikkhus as hankering after money and hence after worldly pleasures

CHAPTER V.

PROMULGATION OF THE VINAYA LAWS

Promulgation With the expansion of the Vinaya rules, the promulgation of the rules also became an important problem. The necessity of a person or a body of persons in whom legal authority should be vested could no longer be ignored, even the manner of promulgation counted much. In the beginning and practically in most of the pages of the Vinaya Pitaka one form of promulgation is maintained. It was very simple. Whenever any difficulty presented itself in the Sangha, or there was a lapse on the part of any of the inmates of the Sangha, or there was any necessity felt to amend a law, the matter was at once brought to the knowledge of the Buddha, by a prominent Bhikkhu or Bhikkhuni or an influential layman etc., whereupon the Buddha rebuked the guilty party and laid down in brief and precise words the line of conduct the person should follow. As for instance, we find Gotama, saying that for two purposes the blessed Buddhas put questions to the Bhikkhus, when they intend to preach the truth and when they intend to institute a rule of conduct to their disciples.¹ In this manner all the unwritten laws of the Vinaya-Pitaka were laid down. Later on when disputes arose in the Bhikkhu-Sangha on trivial matters or when too many petty lapses were committed by the Bhikkhus, it was impossible for one man to settle the disputes etc., the Bhikkhu-Sangha being scattered all over the four quarters. For the first time the

¹ *Maharanga*, VI, 37, 5.

right of promulgation of laws was thus handed down by the Buddha to the Sangha in settling the disputes¹ and carrying out official acts against the fighters. Complete power was vested in the hands of the Sangha in deciding a case by obtaining individual votes. The democratic principle of deciding a thing by means of the votes of majority was practised by the Buddhists much before the right of citizenship found an expression in the activities of many civilized nations. This legal power vested in the Sangha soon extended to the discussion of legal questions arising out of censure, out of offence out of business etc². The field of the activity of the Sangha in this manner increased day by day.

The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta gives four authorities which are concerned with the promulgation of laws, which are known technically as the Mahāpadesas³ and can be included in the formal sources of the Vinaya-laws according to the modern idea of jurisprudence. The Mahāpadesas are (1) the promulgation of a rule by the Buddha himself, (2) the promulgation of a rule by the Sangha consisting of elderly and leading men at an Āvāsa, (3) the promulgation of a rule by learned and elderly Bhikkhus and, (4) the promulgation of a rule by a Vinayadhara at an Āvāsa. The scope and the validity of each of these Mahāpadesas must be carefully examined before we proceed to the jurisdiction of the Sangha.

¹ *Cullavagga*, IV

² Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, II, p. 124.

³ *Cullavagga*, IV, 14, 2

(1) There is not the slightest doubt that the Buddha was the chief authority on the laws of Vinaya-Pitaka, but the question is whether all rules invariably are to be attributed to the Buddha alone or whether there was the hand of other lawyers in casting them. Judging the rules by common sense, we see that it is not the work of one brain. As we have already seen that the laws of the Vinaya-Pitaka were derived from various external sources, and the treatment of the evolution of these laws clearly shows that the theory that each law was promulgated by the Buddha on a certain occasion himself was many times deliberately invented and later on maintained by all ancient scholars of Buddhism. Otherwise, neither inconsistent rules nor rules which belong to different periods of evolution of Buddhist monachism would be placed on the same chronological level. The utterance of Purana at the council of Rajagaha, that he did not pay the slightest heed to what had been laid down except by the great Buddha¹, gives support to the orthodox theory of the Buddha being the only law-giver, even after his death². 'The triple slogan, Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha, Buddhism has tended to merge the other two, Dhamma and Sangha have virtually become Buddha, all the teaching was practically the word of Buddha. All teachers were virtually Buddha what he 'said' or would have said'³.

As the Pitakas maintain the Buddha being the sole authority on the law, the Bhikkhus in general had

¹*Cullavagga*, XI, 1, 11

²Mrs Rhys Davids, *Sakya*, p. 120

³*Ibid.*

forgotten the independence of their reasoning power. The thinking power of the ablest Bhikkhus also gathered rust. The Buddha by his towering personality no doubt outshone them all. The whole Sangha as long as the master was alive cultivated an inferiority complex. The Cullavagga presents the touching picture of the distorted Bhikkhu Sangha on the Buddha's death.¹ They are helpless like the 'cage bird' of Tagore who cannot enjoy a flight in the air, his wings being enfeebled through long confinement. The helplessness of the Bhikkhus is due more to the consciousness of their weakness than grief at the master's departure. It is precisely laid down that 'just as the sea does not cross its boundary so also the monks should not go beyond the precepts of the Buddha'.² The Buddha himself alludes to the same fact that he laid down the Dhamma and the Vinaya.³ In Mahaparinibbana Suttanta also the Buddha hints at the point by exhorting the Bhikkhus to ask him any doubtful question about the Dhamma and the Sangha lest they should be at a loss to know what to do after his death.⁴ These evidences however cannot be relied upon in their entirety, because when Ānanda asked the Buddha to leave instructions for the Sangha before he (Buddha) departed, the Buddha replied 'The Tathagata never thinks that I should lead the Order, or that the Order is under my guidance'.⁵ The Buddha also told the Bhikkhus to be lamps unto themselves either when he was alive or after

¹Cullavagga, XI, 1, 1

²Ibid, IX, 4, 4

³Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, II, p. 171

⁴Ibid, p. 172.

⁵Ibid, p. 107

he was gone¹ The practical authority of the Buddha gradually decreased after his death the name continued to invite much respect and awe from the people, which reduced the personality of the Buddha to a legendary one Every Bhikkhu had deep respect for this personality and thought that whatever rules he obeyed were based on the word of the Buddha The word was handed down from mouth to mouth, and every time something was likely to be added to it or taken away from it There were great disputes over little points and councils of Theras were summoned from time to time This chaos prevailed till the fixing of the Pitakas.

(2) With the death of the Buddha the power of the Sangha gradually increased During the Buddha's life time the Sangha could not promulgate any law on its own initiative The Buddha made a statement of the rule and it was then left to the Sangha to carry out the instructions Each of these official acts must be accompanied with a particular form of legal procedure The act must be passed by a complete congregation² and in the presence of the guilty Bhikkhu³ The authority of the Sangha was limited during the Buddha's life time There is a peculiar episode recorded in the Mahaparinibbana Suttanta, a monk Subhadda by name asked the Bhikkhus to stop weeping at the Buddha's death, and console themselves with the fact that they were henceforward free from

¹Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, II, p 100 101.

²*Mahavagga*, IX, 2

³*Ibid*, VI, 1

his interference¹ Even the Buddha gave his sanction that the Order could abolish minor rules if it wished so² The nature of the minor precepts however is not explained as it should be

The only instance when the Sangha promulgated a rule on its own initiative in the Buddha's life time was that the Sāvasthīya Sangha declared a rule that Pabbajjī should not be conferred during the rainy season³ The precepts of the Sangha though substituted for the Buddha's word, became no longer imperative, owing to the simple reason that the word of the Buddha was universally acknowledged and that of the Sangha was not The split in the Sangha told upon the prestige of the Sangha The Buddhist Sangha described by the Buddha as the Bhikkhu-Sangha belonging to the four quarters, no longer remained so Each Āvāsa which was originally a temporary residence of the Bhikkhus during the rainy season became a cenobetical colony afterwards and each Āvāsa was called a Sangha by itself There was the Sāvasthīya Sangha⁴, Vesālīka, Vajjiputtaka Bhikkhus⁵ etc The Uposatha must be held with Samanavasakas (Bhikkhus living at one Āvāsa) only⁶, and that is why the rules proposed by one

¹ *Cullavagga*, XI, 1, 1

² Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, II, p. 171

³ *Mahavagga*, III, 13 This rule however was set at rest by the Buddha, on Visakha's request that her grand son should be ordained during the Vassa only

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 13, 1

⁵ *Cullavagga*, XII, 1

⁶ *Mahavagga*, II, 34, 10

Sangha could be no binding on the other Sanghas. The authority of the Sangha thus suffered in the early days of the Sangha. Thus split in the Sangha began with the differences of the scholars of the Vinaya and the Dhamma. Dabba was appointed by the Buddha to appoint separate lodgings for the followers of the Dhamma, Vinaya and Suttanta¹. The regulations of one Sangha not being acceptable to others, the second Mahāpadesa also became obsolete.

(3) The third and the fourth Mahāpadesas give legal authority to an individual or a body of individuals well-versed in the Vinaya and respected in the Sangha. The individual had to obtain the formal sanction of the Sangha before he undertook a thing, as Dabba of the Mallas did. The statements of the authority of individual monks are inconsistent as in the former cases. A rule is specially laid down in the Cullavagga that if a monk raises legal questions in the Sangha he is charged with the Tappiya Kamma², and yet it is enjoined that in matters of dispute the vote of each individual counted was equally valuable. When the formal meeting of the Sangha was held, selection was made of a virtuous and competent person to answer questions on the Dhamma and the Vinaya³.

The position which the Vinayadhara or the doctors of law held in the Buddhist Sangha is unquestionable. It was ordinarily established that no one was to receive ordination

¹ Mahāvagga, X.

² Cullavagga, IV, 4, 4.

³ *Brit. Mus. Journ. of Ind. Arch.*, 1902, p. 26.

⁴ Cullavagga, I, 4.

⁵ Mahāvagga, II, 15, 5, and 6.

before a chapter of less than ten Bhikkhus¹, but ordination was conferred on a person in a chapter of four Bhikkhus under the chairmanship of a Vinayadhara²

The words of the Buddha, 'Be ye lamps unto yourselves' on his death-bed put a new sense of individuality in the minds of the Bhikkhus. The real respect for the Theras and Vinayadharas vanished fast with it. They either stuck obstinately to the utterances of the Buddha as Maha-Kassapa, or became independent and irresponsible and did what they liked, in either case the regard for the Theras was reduced to naught. The row of the Theras and Vinayadharas is extolled now and again³. But it seems only to be in theory. It is doubtful how far the words of these persons carried any weight in actual life. It may not be wrong to conjecture that at least some of these Vinayadharas, well versed in law as they are reported to be, had a hand in recasting and rehandling some of the Vinaya-rules according to the needs of the time. To me the explanatory notes added to rules do not seem the work of the Buddha himself, but that of these primitive lawyers. As for example, the Cullavagga establishes a rule that disputes must be settled by obtaining votes, the procedure of obtaining the votes is also prescribed. This is further explained by describing vividly the four kinds of votes, their validity, invalidity etc⁴. The latter additions must be the work of the Vinayadharas. Same can be said

¹ *Mahavagga*, I, 31, 2.

² *Ibid*, V, 13, 11.

³ *Vinaya*, V, p. 3

⁴ *Cullavagga*, IV, 10

about Thullaccaya and Dukkha. But according to the sacred convention of the early Buddhism, every law, the minutest detail included is attributed to the Buddha alone and hence the contribution of these excellent and capable men, in the formation of Vinaya-rules is lost on deaf ears. We only know their names and qualifications as in the case of Upali, but the extent and nature of their work will always remain a mystery to us.

The instances where individuals are actually shown putting their legal authority in operation, are extremely rare. Dabba of the Mallas was the only man who could do something in this respect, but his was the work of putting the Buddha's instruction into practice. The only instance, where a Bhikkhu proclaimed rules on his own initiative is that of Revata, who proclaimed the Ubbahika rules in the council of Vesali¹. These rules however, had no force in them.

¹*Cullavagga*, XII, 2, 7.

CHAPTER VI.

JURISPRUDENCE UNDER THE VINAYA

The Vinaya jurisprudence The Vinaya jurisprudence as it is to be examined by us, falls under three categories which will be successively dealt with in the course of this chapter. The three categories in question are (a) the theory of jurisprudence, (b) legal proceedings, (c) principles underlying the Buddhist idea of penalty.

The theory (a) The episodes of the Vinaya serve another purpose to the law besides providing a historical background. They form the legal source from which the law proceeds. As for example, the episodes attached to the Tājjanīya-kamma, Ukkhepanīya-kamma Pabbajanīya-kamma etc. as any one can see at the first glance, do not serve any historical purpose as the episodes of Dabba, Devadatta, Subhaddha, or Ānanda represented as the mouthpiece of the Bhikkhunis do. Yet the episodes are not quite meaningless as most of the Chhabaggiya ones. What these episodes contribute to the Vinaya is the legal background and force. Through these episodes we get a fairly decent knowledge about the technical procedure of a Sangha-kamma, viz. when a Sangha-kamma is valid, how it is to be carried out and under what circumstances, and the exact nature of penalty bearing upon it. This naturally involves an investigation into the theory of legislation. In connection with legislation we have also to consider two points, viz. (1) the right of promulgation and (2) the right of putting the ordinances into practice.

We have already seen the fate of the Mahapadesas—the four sources of promulgation. The second point will be made clear as we shall proceed with the legal proceedings under the Vinaya.

There is always a hairs breadth between the purely historical and purely legal sources, as far as the Vinaya and the passion of the Buddhists for episodes go, the two are often intermingled. It happens at times, that the same episode can be interpreted in two different ways¹. The episodes involving custom come under this class. We know something about the historical importance of custom as it shapes human life in a particular form, but its judicial importance cannot be overlooked, because it forms the judicial precedents and develops into customary laws. Looking to the vast contribution of custom to form and change the Vinaya-laws, we cannot afford to neglect the importance of such laws.

Directions. Besides the traditional division of the Patimokkha rules, there are some rules which can safely be grouped under an appropriate legal heading. As for example though the Sekhiya rules are incorporated in the legal code their judicial capacity being much less than that of other rules it is often questioned whether they can be fitly called laws. They are rules regulating manners and deportment of the Bhikkhus, and as such derive their validity from the vast store of the Aryan tradition, and hence they can be termed as corollaries drawn from

¹The episode of Visakha who made the Bhikkhus amend the rule that Pabbajja cannot be bestowed during the Vassa can come under this category. *Mahāvanga* III, 13.

the customary laws. Besides in the absence of their judicial character (as far as the breaking of these precepts did not involve any offence leading to a Sangha kamma or trial) the Sekhiyas can be called 'legal directions'. The purpose of such rules is only to show one the right way and not to pronounce penalty if one does not follow it. They possess the authority of directing men's conduct towards a particular goal, but lack coercion.

Technical law. Besides these are a number of laws in the Khaddhakas relating to health sanitation¹, medicine² etc., all such rules are many a time overlooked like the Sekhiyas. No doubt in the legal sense they are not so unfit of not to be incorporated in legal codes. Law generally aims at the 'ideal future' irrespective of the past and present. In case of the aforesaid rules, their aim is the 'attainment of some practical end', and hence, they are classed under the technical law³. Such laws insignificant though they seem to us, were not looked upon so, by people for whom they were meant, and the importance the Buddhist tradition has attached to them cannot be ignored⁴, in fact in the post Buddha Sangha, the rules regarding dress, food etc., attracted the foremost attention. While enumerating and specifying the laws of the Vinaya, I Tsing says, 'there are express laws in the Vinaya-texts on the observance and neglect that are evident in the light of the regulations of clothing and the

¹Cullavagga, V, ft.

²Mahavagga, VI

³Salmond, *Jurisprudence*, p. 31.

⁴Pandita, 72

rules of eating and drinking, so that even beginners in the study can judge the nature of an offence ¹

The laws of the Vinaya Pitaka, as all laws should, intend to direct the conduct of the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis i.e. their actions and outward behaviour. Besides like true laws they also involve the principles of justice. In fact the Vinaya pays more attention in defining what is right and what is wrong, and at times sacrifices even the theory of legislation to this sentiment. In short 'Kappiyakappiya (right and wrong) is the soul of the Vinaya, and it is the very characteristic of the Vinaya that Buddhaghosa takes into account'

The legal procedure (b) As the theory of jurisprudence reveals the nature of the laws, so also an investigation into the method of legal proceedings, shows their scope and practicability. Like all the legal procedures the procedure of the Vinaya also is coupled with rigid formalities. And the Buddhists are so very particular in keeping up these formalities, that there can be no Sangha-kamma, without Natti Anussavana etc. The wording of these formulæ is fixed, and is the same in all the Sangha kammass excepting the change in the name of the offender and the title of the offence he has committed. The frequency of the repetition of these formulæ, often bores the reader, and makes the study of the Vinaya dull. But this inconvenience is also accompanied with a hidden virtue, viz that the legal tradition of the Vinaya was fairly preserved in its very ancient apart

¹Takakusa, *I Tsing*, p. 53

²*Samantapasadika*, IV, p. 760

The most fundamental principles underlying the trials under the Vinaya constituted of the following factors —

Principles underlying trial (1) *Confession* Confession as we have already stated constituted a permanent feature of the legal proceedings. Confession was obtained either voluntarily from the offender or when the fault was detected by other Bhikkhus they reminded him of it and obtained it by force. In case the person refused to give confession the person was suspended from the Sangha¹ until he confessed his offence and got riddance from it by the formal permission of the Sangha². Confession has a peculiar legal value in the Vinaya because a guilty Bhikkhu was at once declared to have been freed from the sin of the offence as soon as he declared it provided the offence was not a grave one. The Pacittiya offences were disposed of only with a formal confession. In the case of the Sekhiyas the confession even need not be necessarily formal.

(2) The trial of the guilty person must be held in the presence of the full and authorised fraternity³, from which the Samaneras and Bhikkhus belonging to another communion and Bhikkhus undergoing some sort of penalty were excluded⁴.

(3) The presence of the accused was essential⁵.

¹ *Mahavagga*, X, 1

² *Ibid*, X, 2, X, 5, 11-12

³ *Ibid*, IX, 3, *Cullavagga* I, 3

⁴ *Ibid* X, 1, 9

⁵ *Ibid*, IX, 6, 1

(4) A chance must be given to the accused to make a statement for his own defence¹

(5) The Sangha-kammas like the Tayaniya-kamma, etc. were against Dhamma and the Vinaya if they were carried out even though the fault had been confessed.

(6) The verdict of the Sangha (declared by the majority) was always final² provided that the jury, the witnesses and the judge or arbitrator, did not depart in the slightest degree from the tradition, spirit and the precepts of the Vinaya³

The actual trial in the Sangha regulated by the above mentioned principles was simple yet a serious and dignified affair. After the offence of the guilty person was known, he was warned and was called to remember whether he had or had not committed the offence, and was made aware of the particular rule against which he had offended⁴. The next step taken was that a wise Bhikkhu had to declare in the Sangha the offence of the Bhikkhu in question, and the Natti followed it⁵.

¹*Cullavagga*, I, 2, 1.

²*Mahavagga*, IX, 6, 1

³*Cullavagga*, I, 3, *Parittiya*, 79-80

⁴*Ibid.*, I, 2, 4.

⁵*Mahavagga*, IX, 3, 9

Precautions In order to conduct the trials peacefully and in a well ordered way various precautions were taken In the first place though technically each Bhikkhu was authorised to express his opinion on the matter in practice to say the Natti and make an expository speech an individual was selected who represented the whole Sangha If the Bhikkhus agreed thereon they expressed their consent by remaining silent those who did not approve of it were by all means, allowed to put forward their arguments against the proposition To keep pressure on these individuals so that they might not misuse this personal liberty and discrimination express rules were formed that no legal questions should be (unnecessarily) raised in the assembly¹

Secondly, when the censure of an individual or a group of individuals involved some legal technicality and keen disputations which might even lead to a Sanghabbhedā arose, the Sangha resorting to the ballot-system depended on the votes of the majority², or held jury of the Sangha theras according to the Ubbhika rules³ In simpler cases one arbitrator was sufficient to give satisfactory verdict The Vinaya-Pitaka gives a long list of

¹ *Cullavagga*, I, 1, 1

² *Ibid*, IV, 9 10

³ *Ibid*, VI, 14 9

the qualifications expected in an arbitrator, the chief of which are the purity and force of character, infallible actions, the knowledge of the two Vibhāṅgas, and the tact of speech. To maintain discipline in the formal undertakings of the Sangha every Sangha-kamma, whether purely legal or otherwise, whether important or insignificant, must be necessarily accompanied with a *Ñatti*¹, in important cases the charge was preceded by three *Ñatti*s, in simpler ones only one. No transgression of this principle was allowed. Not only that but an act which was apparently lawful and was carried out in a complete congregation with all the formalities, also, was severely criticised and rejected by the Sangha worthy of the name². In order that an innocent person might not suffer from unjust censure and the culprit might not escape punishment the Sangha took all possible care. The records of the Vinaya are full of instructions to those who censured a Bhikkhu, as well as warnings to the offenders who wanted to break the discipline of the Sangha, from which (records) we may give a few instances only (a) The Bhikkhus bringing a false charge against an innocent Bhikkhu would be punished. If the charge they brought against him was *Parajika*, they were liable to the *Sanghadisesa* offence³, in case it was the Sangha-

¹*Cullavagga*, I, 3

²*Mahavagga*, IX, 3, 2

³*Sanghadisesa*, 8, 9

disea they were tried for the Pacittiya¹ (b) A Bhikkhu who knowingly concealed a serious offence committed by a Bhikkhu was censured² (c) Whatsoever Bhikkhu when the Sangha was engaged in conducting a formal inquiry, rose from his seat and went away without declaring his consent committed an offence³ (d) Whatsoever Bhikkhu when he had declared his consent to the formal proceedings conducted according to Dhamma, grumbled afterwards about the Sangha-kammas, was censured⁴ (e) When a Bhikkhu admonished by the Sangha according to Dhamma, said that he could not submit himself to their rule of the Sangha unless his case was again decided by an expert Vinayadhara he committed an offence (f) By no means could a Bhikkhu stir up against the decision upon a matter which he knew to have been settled according to Dhamma⁵ (g) If a procedure of the Sangha was invalid it was opened at another assembly by way of a Kiccadhikarana⁶

Some legal methods To conduct legal trials and to settle various legal controversies various methods were

¹*Pacittiya*, 76.

²*Ibid*, 80

³*Ibid*, 51

⁴*Ibid*, 71

⁵*Ibid*, 63

⁶*Ibid*

resorted to by the Sangha. They are many in number and deal with such minute details that it is impossible, to devote one's wholehearted attention to all of them, and in all respects. However the most important methods with their outstanding features will be considered here. These measures, were based on the nature and gravity of offences, which roughly fall under three classes as the table on pages 102, 103 will show

Offences and the Procedure

Grave offences	Offences or rather disturbances resulting through the misinterpretation of the canon and difference of opinion as regards doctrinal points which is likely to end in serious disputes and even a schism ²
1) Parajila (Dismissal from the Sangha) 2) Thullaccaya ⁴ (Penalty not given)	1) Voting ³ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a Secret method b Whispering method c Open method 2) Ubbahika ⁵ (Holding a jury) 3) Adhikaranasamathas <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Sammkha Vinaya⁶ b) Sativinaya⁷ c) Amulhavinaya⁸ d) Patunaya⁹ e) Yebhuyyasika¹⁰ f) Tassapapiyyassa lamma¹¹ g) Tinavittarakka¹²

The nature of the procedure is not explained in the texts.

¹The name of the procedure will be found written in bracket against the name of respective offences

²These offences are heterogeneous and are not technically termed as other offences and hence instead of describing the nature of each of the categories I have given only the measures that were recommended to deal with them

³Cullavagga, IV, 14 26

⁴Mahavagga III, 28

⁵Cullavagga, IV, 14 19

⁶Ibid, IV, 14 16

⁷Ibid IV, 14, 27

⁸Ibid, IV, 5, IV, 14 28

⁹Ibid, IV, 7, 8

¹⁰Ibid, IV, 9, IV, 14, 24

¹¹Ibid, IV, 11

¹²Ibid, IV, 13

with which they were dealt¹.

Offences involving breach of discipline.

-
- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---------------------------------|
| 1) Sanghadhesa | a | Manatta ¹³ | |
| | b | Parivasa ¹⁴ | |
| | | 1 | Apaticchanna |
| | | 2 | Paticchanna |
| | | 3 | Suddhanta or Mulāya Patikassana |
| | | 4 | Samodhana |
| 2) Nissaggiya | } | | (Formal confession.) |
| 3) Pacittiya | | | |
| 4) Patidesaniya | | | |
| 5) Making strife and disputes and raising legal questions in the Sangha | | (Tajjanīya-kamma) ¹⁵ | |
| 6) Stupidity, and living with lay people in unlawful association with the world. | | (Nissaya or Niyasa-kamma) ¹⁶ | |
| 7) Living an unrestrained and luxurious life | | (Pabbajaniya-kamma) ¹⁷ | |
| 8) Offences against the laity | | (Patisvāniya kamma) ¹⁸ | |
| 9) Concealing a fault and not confessing it | | (Ukkhepaniya kamma) ¹⁹ | |
| 10) For not renouncing a sinful doctrine | | (Ukkhepaniya kamma) ²⁰ . | |
| 11) For being obstinate and denying a fault | | (Tassapāpiyyassa Kamma) | |
| 12) Impropriety in speech (Dubbhasita) | | Minor offences of various kinds (Dukkata) | |
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¹³Cullavagga, II, 1 ft

¹⁴Ibid, I, 1 ft

¹⁵Ibid, I, 13 ft

¹⁶Ibid, I, 25

¹⁷Ibid, III, 7 ft

¹⁸Ibid, I, 9 ft

¹⁹Ibid, I, 18 ft.

²⁰Ibid, I, 32

Apparently, the procedures seem quite methodical and sufficient, but on a closer perusal of the Vinaya-Pitaka, the reader is disillusioned about the fact that many of these procedures are ambiguous and often a riddle. The nature of Manatta and Parivasa is not known. The attempt of authors of the Vinaya to explain 'Tinavitttharika' is a futile one, even the explanation of Buddhawhosā is not at all satisfactory.¹ He says that just as any filth is covered by grass, so that it cannot be noticed, so also the offence when dealt with this procedure loses its sinful character. The reader however remains in the dark as to what it exactly signified. The rest of the six cases of Adhikarana samathas are more satisfactory but even they are not sufficient to give us the exact idea of legal procedures, and their proper scope. However, in spite of all the drawbacks in these methods, in spite of their incapability in creating any interest to the modern student, one thing still goes to their credit viz they were based on rigid practicalities. No mysterious proofs were required to prove or disprove the guilt of a person. There was no trial by ordeal, as we sometimes find in the Dharmasutras and Smritis.² And this tendency of looking at things exactly as they were and scan the various intricacies with the aid of cold reason, with a full sense of justice, was no small achievement of the Buddhists in those ancient days.

Penalty (C) Another important point that issues from the theory of legislation and the method of trials,

¹Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, II, pp 313-314

²Gautama, II, 3, 40-41, *Jajñavalkya-Smṛiti*, VII.

is the regard of the law towards awarding punishments. Law includes both command and the authority to bring an external pressure upon a person on the breach of the order or rule. Jurisprudence would not be perfect without the latter factor. The Vinaya-jurisprudence also imbibes both these principles as the Vinaya literature reveals. Besides 'the Vinaya primarily meant says Buddhaghosa discourse of restraint and control because therein are given discourses on grave or trivial restraint opposed to transgression¹, ' and hence the survey of the theory and application of penalty is as important in the Vinaya as the doctrine itself. From the sociological point also, the infliction of penalty upon the evil-doer is not less interesting because by violating laws, the culprit becomes a sort of a rebel and breaks the social treaty², which breach of trust must needs not be ignored.

The foregoing table has already given us a broad idea of the methods and has even hinted at the nature of penalties prescribed on a particular offence. I shall now discuss briefly, the exact nature of some of the important types of punishments.

The Sangha being primarily a religious body, no corporal punishment was possible here, since the Bhikkhus were not allowed to have any monetary possessions, no fines also were demanded. Confiscation of property such as an extra robe, extra bowl, were the only material and external things which the Sangha could demand of a Bhikkhu who offended³.

¹Mrs Rhys Davids and Aung, *Expositor*, p. 27

²Rousseau, *Social Contract*, p. 129-130

³For this see the rules belonging to *Nissaggiya-Pacittiya*

The fundamental principle underlying the Buddhist idea of penalty was a grave penalty for a grave offence and a light one for a lighter offence. The highest penalty inflicted was the unconditional dismissal of the culprit from the Sangha, under no means that person could be readmitted in the institution. The mildest form of penalty was formal confession. The former was prescribed on the *Parajika* offences and the latter one on the *Patidesaniya* and *Pacittiya* offences.

Thullaccaya The nature of *Thullaccaya* is also not clearly explained in the *Vinaya-Pitaka*. We hardly know anything about it except that when a Bhikkhu was guilty of it, whatever he may wish or say, the Bhikkhus should neither speak to him, nor exhort him nor admonish him. The *Cullavagga* however, in one place gives us a curious instance where *Thullaccaya* offence is committed. When *Sariputta* and *Moggallana*, came to request the Buddha to receive back into the Sangha, the followers of *Devadatta* who turned to schism, the Buddha said that by no means should schismatics be reordained, and insisted on confession of *Thullaccaya* from the Bhikkhus in question¹.

Sanghadisesa The *Sanghadisesa* rules came next in importance to those of *Parajika* in the code of the *Patimokkha*. To deal with these offences, the consent and supervision of the Sangha was essential from the beginning to the end², and hence they were probably the first Sangha

¹*Cullavagga*, VII, 4, 4

²Childers, *Pali Dictionary* p. 448, Dutt, *Analysis of Bhikkhu Patimokkha*, *Mahabodhi*, 42, p. 267

kammas which were conducted with rigid formality. On the committal of a Sanghadisesa offence the Bhikkhu had to undergo Parivasa for as many days as he had concealed the offence and after that Vāṣaṭṭha for a week¹. The Bhikkhu then, with the formal consent of the Sangha, rehabilitated in the Sangha, provided he did not commit more offences while he was undergoing penalty. The procedure by which he was received in the Sangha was known as Abbhana².

Tajjanīya-kamma The six disciplinary Sangha kammas discussed in the Cullavagga I are judicially inferior to the Parajika and Sanghadisesa offences. We do not know whether the Thullaccaya offences could come under their jurisdiction. All other offences including Pācittiya etc., could be dealt with them.

To the great credit of the compilers of the Vinaya all these Sangha kammas are arranged according to order, the most important the first, the least important the last. Even the way in which their scope and nature are explained is very methodical and remarkable.

The Tajjanīya kamma is the gravest of all the Sangha kammas. The penalty for it is to deprive a Bhikkhu of his privileges. He was an unfit teacher and could not confer Upasamāpāda on a novice, nor could give a Nissaya, and much less was authorized to provide himself with a Samānera. He was forbidden to exhort the Bhikkhus. The meetings of Uposatha and Pavarana were barred for

¹Cullavagga, III, 11

²Ibid, III, 2, 3

him. He was neither entitled to give a vote nor censure any one. In short, he was looked upon as an absent member of the Sangha.¹

When the offenders assured the Sangha of their good conduct and fitness to be admitted as the authorized members of the institution, they were entitled to ask the Sangha for the release from the penalty and on the formal consent of the Sangha were readmitted unconditionally into the fold.² In the rest of the Sangha-kammas also the the method of rehabilitation was just the same.

Nissaya-kamma The Nissaya-kamma dealt with faults committed through foolishness. It made the guilty Bhikkhu subordinate to the senior and wiser Bhikkhus. It made him easier for him to keep in a closer contact with them so that he could ask them questions about the Dhamma and the Vinaya, could learn much about tradition and the rest of the canonical literature and other points of good conduct. When he showed signs of discretion and aptitude for the knowledge of the Dhamma and the Vinaya the supervision of other Bhikkhus was removed and he was free. It is to be remembered in this respect that there is a great difference between this subordination and that imposed by the Parivasa under the Sanghadisesa. In the former he did not lose all the privileges of a fully ordained Bhikkhu, while according to the latter he was practically cast out of the Sangha and reduced to the state of a novice³, even after the end of the period of Parivasa he

¹*Cullavagga*, I, 5

²*Ibid*, I, 6.

³*Ibid*, II, 1

was not free but had to undergo another rigorous penalty of *Manatta*, hence the humiliation in the latter case was much greater than in the former

Pabbajaniya-lamma Since the *Pabbajaniya* kamma was prescribed for the control over Bhikkhus who engaged themselves with frivolous pursuits the most natural punishment in that case was to remove such person or persons from the source of attraction and change his surrounding atmosphere. Only this much not being a sufficient remedy for the evil the Bhikkhu was made a *Saddhiviharika* (disciple) of an able and worthy man like *Sariputta* or *Moggallana* who was formally appointed by the Sangha for that purpose¹. The difference between this penalty and that of *Parivasa* is that, the former compelled the offender to be a *Saddhiviharika* of a special teacher, while in the latter case no special teacher was appointed and the offender was supposed to be subordinate to all the seniors of the Sangha.

Patisaraniya-lamma The *Patisaraniya* kamma originated through offending the laity and the absolution from it could be obtained by requesting and obtaining forgiveness of the lay-man whose feelings the Bhikkhu had hurt².

Ukkhepaniya-lamma *Ukkhepaniya*-kamma is of two kinds viz (1) not acknowledging a fault and (2) not renouncing a sinful doctrine. The penalty on it is exactly the same as the *Tajjanaya-Kamma*.

¹ *Collatagga*, I, 13, 6-7

² *Ibid*, I, 22

Pakasaniya-kamma. The Pakasaniya kamma (act of proclamation) is not included in the traditional list of the Sangha kammās. In the course of the Vinaya tradition it was resorted to only once and that too in the case of Devadatta for the reason that he wished the leadership of the Sangha after the departure of the Buddha. The sanction for it was obtained formally from the Sangha and the prosecution resulted in the public declaration of the censure on the change in the attitude of Devadatta.¹

Brahmadanda. The penalty of the Brahmadanda is mentioned only in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Dīgha-Nikāya the exact nature and scope of which is not known.

Standard of punishment. So far we have seen the nature of offences in the Sangha and punishments following prosecution, before we close the argument it will not be out of place to advance a few more remarks about the standard of punishment.

Throughout the Vinaya-Pitaka we see signs of growth, alterations and a vain attempt to stick to obsolete rules. Like the precepts the punishments are no exception to this drawback in the Vinaya. The standard of penalty is not fixed and obvious changes can be noted here and there. In the course of this evolution the punishments assumed a milder form. As for example Parajika IV, has been prescribed in the Patimokkha for one who pretends to possess superhuman and extraordinary power

¹Cullavagga, VII, 3

or knowledge when he does not, while in the *Cullavagga* a similar offence regarding *Iddhi* is prohibited by a *Dukkata* only¹. Similarly, it is stated in the *Vinaya* that the *Tajjanīya-kamma* was not valid when it was carried out for the *Paṇḍita* and the *Sanghadisesa* offences². This statement is again contrary to the fact that there are some points in the *Tajjanīya-kamma* which are common to *Sanghadisesa*³ viz making strife raising discussions and leading to quarrels⁴. Really speaking, the penalty for these faults should be dealt with *Paṇḍita* and *Manatta*, but the faults were not looked upon now so serious as to come under the *Sanghadisesa* and hence the *Tajjanīya-kamma* was considered sufficient to deal with them.

In the case of *Nissaya-kamma* also, the same story is repeated. For the various offences committed by *Seyyasaka*, first he was given *Manatta* penalty which presupposes a *Sanghadisesa* offence. But it was cancelled by the Buddha as an inadequate remedy and *Nissaya kamma* was introduced instead. The obstinacy of a *Bhikkhu* not to listen to others and not to acknowledge fault was formerly punished by *Sanghadisesa*⁵, but could also come under the jurisdiction of *Tassa paṇḍita kamma*. There is only one instance where punishment for an offence is more rigorous than the original. Nakedness which constituted only a

¹*Cullavagga*, I, 2, 1

²*Sanghadisesa*, 8, 9

³*Cullavagga*, I, 1, 1

⁴*Ibid*, I, 9, 1-2.

⁵*Sanghadisesa*, 12

Dukkata¹ in the beginning was punished by a Thullaccaya later on²

Some important trials After having discussed so much about the theory of the Vinaya we shall now have a peep into a few of the typical trials

Ānanda The trial of Ānanda in the council of Rajaḡha where several offences were imposed upon him by Mahākassapa in the presence of a number of Bhikkhus, is highly interesting from the legal point of view, and cannot exactly be called a 'trial', because it was neither accompanied by a *Ñatti* nor followed by a *Sangha kamma*. Ānanda had been formerly rebuked for his lapses by Sariputta in Saketa³ and by the Sangha many a time⁴, but the charges levelled against him in the open session of the Theriya Sanghi, were quite different in nature from the former faults. Besides the so called offences were not committed at one and the same time, there is a range of even more than a score of years between the earlier and later offences. There are five charges altogether (1) The first belonging to a very early period, is the exertion of Ānanda to procure admission for Mahāpajapati in the Sangha. To me the opening of this question, after so many years had rolled on after the incident and even when the Buddha himself consented to it seems illegal. This is the first time the general opinion of the Bhikkhus on the

¹ *Mahāvagga*, I, 70

² *Ibid.*, VIII, 28

³ *Vinaya*, IV, p. 243

⁴ *Vinaya*, III, pp. 193, 198, 203, *Vinaya* IV, pp. 78, 82, 86, 91 etc

matter is revealed, we do not even scent it in any other passage. I would feel very reluctant to charge atleast the noble Mahakassapa of jealousy for Ānanda. The careless attitude of this most conservative Thera for women in general is proverbial in Pāli literature¹ the disrespect and disgust for womanhood in general was inherent in the Indian ascetic world and Kassapa was no exception to the rule as Ānanda. (2) Another question regarding Ānanda who exhibited the body of the Buddha, first to women, can be explained in the same way only it cannot be disposed of as illegal like the first. the preference showed to women in any way is essentially against the creed of the Theravada Vinaya.

The rest of the charges are quite recent except one viz (3) stepping of Ānanda on the rainy season cloak of the Buddha, when this offence was committed is not known. This and the rest of the offences are of the kind of Pacittiya or Dukkata though none of them are mentioned in either the Khandhakas or the Patimokkha. These offences are (4) the forgetfulness of Ānanda to ask Buddha as to which were lesser precepts and (5) the lack of discretion Ānanda showed in not requesting the Buddha in his last illness to remain in the world for a Kappa² (i.e. a period of 432 million years). The modern critic with materialistic views would not attach any importance to an objection of this kind.

The absolution from these faults was granted to Ānanda on a formal confession alone. The only importance

¹Samyutta Nikaya, II, pp. 215-217, Maha-kassapa refuses to exhort Bhikkhus.

²Cullavagga, II, 1, 10.

one can attach to this trial was for the practice of merciless justice in the Sangha. No favourite however great could ever be spared for the wrong he had done or rather for the wrong the Sangha supposed he had done.

Seyyasaka The trial of the Bhikkhu Seyyasaka under Nissaya-kamma is also equally interesting. Stupidity and living in low company were not mentioned as offences in the Patimokkha or anywhere else. The Pacittiya only says that a Bhikkhu should not stay for an unreasonable time in a public rest-house¹ and that he should not enter a village beyond ordinary occasions². There is no reason why he should be made to undergo Parivasa and Manatta for the above mentioned offences³, besides the conduct of Seyyasaka did not make him liable to any of the four kinds of Parivasa known to us. Though afterwards his faults were counteracted with a different sort of discipline. These preliminary steps can in no way be justified⁴.

Assaji-Punabbasula Bhikkhus The followers of Assaji and Punabbasu living on the Uta hill gave themselves to secular pleasures of every kind and became

¹Pacittiya, 31

²Ibid, 85

³Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, *Vinaya-Texts*, II, p. 343, foot note 1

⁴Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, suggest that the Parivasa etc., were imposed on him for other additional faults which are not specifically mentioned here (*Op Cit* p. 384, foot note 1). This explanation however, is not convincing.

popular with lay-people by their gay manuers. When this unbhikkhu-like behaviour of these monks was reported to the Buddha, he sent Sariputta and Moggallana to carry out Pabbajaniya kamma against them. Looking to the story on the surface, it appears very simple with no striking peculiarity about it. However, on a closer scrutiny a student of the Vinaya can detect the legal peculiarity attached to it, namely, that Sariputta and Moggallana with a band of their disciples were vested with judicial powers to rebuke the Bhikkhus who belonged to another Āvāsa and lived in a different boundary than their own, besides the idea of travelling courts can be traced out in this story alone, one has however to admit, that this idea is very faint and rather crude.

The Bhikkhuni with child. A certain Bhikkhuni was with child and she being innocent of the fact obtained Pabbajja in the Sangha. A few days later, her condition was known to other Bhikkhunis, and they charged her of misconduct. At last a trial was held and it was discovered that she was pregnant before she was ordained. The account of the Cullavagga¹ does not say anything more about it but the Jātakas² give us one more detail about it. When the inquiry was being made a committee of arbitrators was appointed among whom there was a lay-woman. The lay-people as far as we know had no share in judicial procedure of the Sangha and hence the instance where a lay-woman was one of the members of the jury, is an unique occurrence, as far as the share of

¹Cullavagga, X, 25.

²Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, I, pp 194-200

lay-people goes in moulding the Vinaya-laws, we have seen them as critics and consultants outside the Sangha, and not as judges or jurors.

The trial of Devadatta by the Pakāsaniya-kamma, the protection offered to Dabba from the Mettiya-Bhūmajja Bhikkhus and also the assurance given to Bhikkhu Kassapagotta against the unlawful decision of Āgantuka Bhikkhus¹, are some more incidents which are legally interesting. But since they are miserably wanting in details, a legal analysis of their contents is not possible.

¹ *Mahāvagga*, IX, 1, 4-8.



CHAPTER VII.

PĀTIMOKKHA & THE FORTNIGHTLY MEETINGS

The holding of the Upo-atha assemblies seems to be an after-thought of the Buddha. The recitation of Dhamma was the natural consequence of the fortnightly meetings¹, what sort of Dhamma this was has not been explained here. The Patimokkha sprang out of these religious discourses. Naturally, considering the conservative attitude of the Theravada Buddhism, we do not expect the Patimokkha, in its very young days, to be far removed from the Dhamma as it was recited by the Bhikkhus in those early days. It was only one step in advance and more regulated in form. The Patimokkha as it is described in the Mahapadana-Suttanta of the Digha-Nikaya stands a testimony to the fact. The Patimokkha as it appears from this source is nothing but a jumble of the principles of the mendicant morality in vogue, viz the peace of mind, forbearance, austerity, abstaining from all sins accomplishment of the good, as they were practised by the great Buddhas².

¹ *Mahavagga* II, 2.

² *Khanti parama tapo titikkha*

Nibbanam paramam vāḍanti Buddha

Na hi pabbajito parupaghata

Samano hoti param vanehayanto (1)

Sabba pāpassa akaranam

Kusālassa upasampada

Sacitta pariyo-dapanam

Etam Buddhana sasanam (2)

Digha Nikaya, II, p 49

The reference to the Patimokkha in the Mahavagga¹, reveals another phase of it and indicates the second stage of development. This is a paramount event in the history of the Vinaya jurisprudence which served the basis of the whole structure of the laws and procedure as they are given in the Vibhanga.

It was at this time, the Patimokkha, was united with its most important element viz the confession of offences. If the recitation of the Sikkhapadas caused an advance in the technique of the Vinaya-rules, so also, confession besides keeping the assembly pure, helped a good deal in preparing a basis for the procedure of the trials of the guilty Bhikkhus. What Sikkhapadas contribute to theory, confession contributes to practice. The root of the latter custom also can be found in the Digha-Nikaya, where the Buddha tells Nigrodha, 'In as much as you, Nigrodha looking upon it as an offence, confess according to your deeds, we accept your confession. For that, Nigrodha, is the custom in the disciples of the Aryas, that whosoever looks upon his fault as a fault and rightfully confesses it, shall in the future attain to self restraint'

The third and the final stage of the Patimokkha was indicated by the differentiation of the Sikkhapadas and the Patimokkha or in other words, the Vinaya based upon the Patimokkha, was detached from the precepts of Dhamma and got an independent standing. The origin of this change can be traced back in a passage of Anguttara-Nikaya where Upali demarcates between

¹ *Mahavagga*, II, 3, 1

² Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of Buddha*, III, p. 45 ft.

Sikkhapadas (moral precepts) and the Patimokkha (disciplinary code)¹ Henceforward the Patimokkha stood for discipline. In the term Patimokkha samvarasamanto' as applied to the ideal Bhikkhu, the word 'Patimokkha' is used in the sense of general discipline' and not as a code. Thus as the Patimokkha precepts came into prominence the other precepts naturally fell into the background and it was only the Vinayadharas like Upali who could recall them together with their antecedents. The Patimokkha being recited every fortnight became the chief centre of attraction in the legal environment of the Saṅgha, and the ideal of the Uposatha meetings became only the preservation of the precepts, the practical importance was attached to it through the introduction of confession. In the Mahapadana Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vipassī asks his disciples to go on religious tours and then gather together every six years to recite the Patimokkha. This is an unique episode in the history of the Patimokkha and we cannot ascertain whether the fortnightly recitation of the Patimokkha was an amendment of the custom given in the former episode or whether the injunction of the recital of the Patimokkha every six years was an invention of Vipassī alone and a privilege of his disciples only.

¹*Anjuttara Nikāya*, V, p 70

²Buddhaghosa explains it, *acaragocarasampanno anu mattesu, vajesu bhayadassani samadaya sikkhati sikkha-padesu* *Isuddhimagga*, J P T S 1891, 3, p 79, also *Patimokkhaṇṭi sītam patitthadī caranam samyamo, samvaro mokkham pamokkham kusalanam dhammanam ca mapattiya'* *Samanta-Pasādika*, IV, p 787

In the beginning confession was directly connected with the Uposatha. In the *Mahavagga*, the Buddha is seen thus enjoining the Bhikkhus that they should confess then lapses either before or after the *Natti* has been proclaimed thrice. If all remained silent the assembly was supposed to be pure. To hide an offence even now constituted an intentional falsehood—a positive sin. When an offence was confessed it was duly treated according to law¹. Later on the value of confession as an effective weapon for the legal procedure was keenly felt² and it even constituted the penalty of *Dukkata* to keep an offence unconfessed,³ and such cases were treated under the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma*⁴. Yet, the connection between confession as the preliminary of legal procedure and the Uposatha meeting was gradually being severed, the obvious reason for such evolution being that '*Pārisuddhi*' was insisted by the Buddhists not during the recitation but before it, and no Bhikkhu who was guilty of a fault was admitted to the meeting⁵ and hence in many a case the chances of confession during the Uposatha service were lessened. The Buddha also once refused to recite *Pātimokkha* to the Bhikkhus as he declared that the assembly was not pure⁶, no attempt was made this time to obtain confessions from the offenders and make the assembly pure once again. To me however the reason of the refusal

¹ *Mahavagga* II, 3, 3

² *Cullavagga*, IV, 7

³ *Ibid.*, I, 25, 1

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 20, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, 2, 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, 1, 1.

of the Buddha to recite the Patimokkha to the Bhikkhus any longer on this ground seems rather lame and even assumed. Looking to the attitude of the Buddha from the beginning to the end and taking into consideration his wish to make the Sangha an independent democratic body, I believe that the Buddha was gradually giving the Sangha a practical lesson of self help, by handing over to the Bhikkhus the right of holding Uposatha meetings and the recitation of the Patimokkha and such trivial legal undertakings, and gradually taught them how to manage things without his presence. One thing is clear however, from the incident, that the Uposatha meetings came to experience 'the negation of their practical character', and came to be 'nothing more than the organised expression of the communal life of the Buddhist community'. What original characteristics were preserved by it, were the preservation of the Vinaya rules and the formal ceremony.

The rite of Pavarana however remained confessional in nature, being an enquiry into the wrong doings of the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis during the Vassa. The rite of the Upasampada was accompanied with a Sanghakamma and 'Ñatti', was not a supplement to jurisprudence.

The influence of the Uposatha and the other meetings on the juridical meetings, was a paramount one. That the Sangha kammass should not take place without a particular number of the Bhikkhus¹, that no Sangha kamma could be carried by those living outside the boundary and

¹Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, p. 197.

²Mahavagga, V, 13, 12

belonging to another Āvāsa¹, were the primary principles which guided all assemblies disciplinary and otherwise. Another rule common to such meetings was that they should be well managed expressive of the union in the Sangha, where seriousness in manners and propriety in deportment were insisted².

¹ *Mahavagga*, IX, 4, 4

² In the *Anguttara-Nikaya* the Buddha describes various sorts of Parisas, (assemblies) and distinguishes between Uttana and Gambhira Parisas (boistrous and sober), 'Vagga' and 'Samagga' Parisas (partial and whole), Aggavati, and Anaggavati Parisas (where theras form a majority and where they do not,) Ariya and Anariya Parisas (refined and vulgar), Amisagara and Saddhammagara (overcome by base motives and regulated by Dhamma) etc. *Anguttara-Nikaya*, I, 2 70 ff. The definition of each of the epithets is given in such a lucid and convincing manner, that even in modern times when public activities have made an advance on the old ideas, it is difficult to find a more suitable and appropriate description of principles governing public meetings.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE VINAYA IN THE SANGHA

The Sangha We have been well acquainted with the theory of the Vinaya rules, as far as they were dialectally demonstrated. But that is not sufficient for the true knowledge of the rules and the Buddhist Sangha. The subject of the foregoing chapters being rather too technical, the investigation though detailed is throughout cold and detached and unless we look into the working and the practical application of the rules in the routine of the Sangha, we shall not be able to breathe the air of genuineness and reality about the codes of the Vinaya. Because, it is only in the Sangha an attitude of the mind of a Bhikkhu which can be shown in action as in words, is reflected. The Buddha 'regarded practice as the foundation of his system. He wished to create a temper and habit of life'.¹ Thus in the Buddhist Sangha we see a curious mixture of theory and practice. It was the practical discipline of the Vinaya-precepts that enhanced the glory of the Buddhist Sangha. There were at that time many religious sects but none so popular as that of the Buddha. Even Mahavira did not succeed in making his system so faultlessly disciplined.² Especially, in the case of Theravada Buddhism the Sangha has always been

¹Eliot '*Hinduism and Buddhism*', I, p. 185

²Kosambi, *Buddhacaritra* (Article 5) *Vaidalyana-Vistara*, 1925

the central institution¹. It is primarily the Sangha that is a stable element in the history of Buddhism and has maintained orthodoxy both in belief and in practice. Yet one has to admit that in spite of the study of the Vinaya-rules as meeting the exigences of life of real men and women in the Sangha the Buddhist system (both the Vinaya and the Sangha) lacks the living warmth which one would like to find about an active and longstanding corporation. Paul Dalbke is absolutely justified in saying, 'It is true that there breathes about this system something of the coldness of mathematics. On the other hand in it is that purest beauty, that faintless beauty, which belongs to mathematics'. We have already seen a number of defects in this system, both theoretical and practical, and shall have occasions to deal with some more weak points in the chapters to come. But, at the same time we are not unaware of the fact what India and even the world at large owes to Buddhism and its founder. It was the Buddhist Sangha, that was for several years the seat of Indian culture and the radiating centre of fresh thought.

The word Sangha was current in India long before the Buddha accepted it and chose it as a designation for his institution. The word originally derived from the root 'sam+han (to hold together), and hence it meant a corporation. Jayiswal tells us how the idea of corporate life was current in India in prebuddhist time, and how

¹Coomaraswamy *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, p. 151.

²Standers, *Buddha*, p. 101.

the political corporations known as Sangha in the Paninian times, evolved into religious corporations in the time of the Buddha¹ The idea of the Kulapati² is also responsible for the outcome of the religious corporation in ancient India³ The influence of that tradition on the Buddhist Sangha can be discerned from the fact that no less than 10 000 students were kept in the University of Nalada⁴

After the Buddha however, the connotation of the word 'Sangha' was so fixed that it rarely conveyed any other idea than the Buddhist community of monks and nuns, it is strange however to find the ambiguous use of the word 'Sangha' in Kautilya's Arthashastra, by which he means political bodies as well as religious corporations⁵ Just as the word 'Bhikkhu' was taken by the Buddha from the Brahmanical literature which later on went to signify the Buddhist or Jain monk in particular, so also, the word Sangha arrested the 'flavour of emancipation' on account of the peculiar use of it made by the Buddha The only difference between the two cases is, that in the former case, the word was grasped and adopted by the Buddha in its entirety, without the least wish to change

¹Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp 33-55.

²Kulapati is, defined as —

Muninam dasasahasranam yo' nnadanadi palanat
Adhyapayati vipreśh sa vai kulapatiḥ smritah.

³Mujumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 287.

⁴Pandit Vidhushekhara Shastri, 'Monastic University in Tibet'. J G I. S., 1934, No 1.

⁵Kautilyas *Arthashastra*, II, 1, III, 3.

the slightest conception attached to it while in the latter case, the word Sangha was taken from an older tradition than the Dharmasutras (the word is missing in that literature) and applied to his own system only as far as it served the idea of corporate life and democracy¹

Influence of political institutions on the Sangha
The idea of religious corporation was by no means new in Buddha's time, the Pitakas and Nikayas show us the various groups of ascetics, commonly known as Ganas. Nay, it had even become a fashion to wander in groups, solitary wanderers were becoming less though not uncommon. The question now arises why the Buddha chose to call his system the 'Sangha', originally a political term? Why did he not call his community a Gana, as the Jains and other contemporaries did? Was he right in applying this designation to a purely religious institution? The answer to these curiosities is to be sought in the influence of political clans on the Buddhist community. The Buddha was very well acquainted with the working of the clans of the Licchavis, the Vajjis, the Videhas etc.² and was

¹Jayaswal, *Hindu, Polity*, p. 44. Here the author discusses the two kinds of Sangha, given by Panini where (1) no upper and lower conditions exist and (2) where they exist. The Buddhist fraternity, the Nikaya, or the Sangha took after the former idea.

²Though the word was commonly used to show the body of mendicants, the word Sangha also was sometimes used in the same sense but not so often. Compare Sanghino, Ganino, Ganleariyo.

³Jayaswal, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 45-47.

in many ways impressed by their polity. These communities were powerful, flourishing, independent and democratic in their outlook, which qualities struck the Buddha the most. The idea of democracy in the Buddhist Sangha I think, owes much to these clans, and hence the Buddha did away with a Sattthi, a Sanghi, Gam, or a ganacariya¹ in the Sangha and wished to run it on purely democratic principles. Moreover we hear him advising his followers, to conduct the Sangha on the lines the Vajjis led their community, and as long as the Bhikkhus held regular assemblies as the Vajjis did and had staunch unity as the Vajjis had, there was no danger of a split or fall of the Sangha. That is how the Buddhist Sangha differentiates itself from other groups of religious mendicants and is better managed and regulated than any other religious community of the time. The refinement of legal version, the insight in the classification of legal points and offences, the prescription of adequate punishments bearing consequently on the commission of an offence, the perfection of the whole legal procedure and the judgment in disputation by means of ballot are all, as it seems to me, pointing back to the indirect influence of the clans on the Buddhists, and that is why the legal validity of the Buddhist Sangha unlike that of the other contemporary religious associations is beyond question.

The Authority of the Sangha Whatever was to be done was done under the name of the Sangha. Upasampada was conferred by the Sangha, cases of abuse and misdeeds were

¹Cullavagga, V, 8, 1

²Digha Nikaya, II, p 73-4

investigated by the Sangha Pavarana Kathina Uposatha etc were functions held under the auspices of the Sangha alone. At times clever individuals were appointed to settle down disorder (not in the local Sangha necessarily) as Sriputta and Moggallana were sent to rebuke and bring under control the followers of Assaji and Panabbasu.¹ But even this they could not do on their own authority but in the name of the Sangha. An individual thus was always subordinate to the Sangha² as the modern individual is subordinate to the state. If a person was deputed to carry a message from one place to another he was not to think that he was doing it on his own initiative he was a bound servant of the Sangha³. The cases where an individual like Purana sets at naught the wish of the majority are extremely rare.

No caste distinction The institution of the Buddhist Sangha was run on the principle of love and unity. No caste distinction prevailed as an exception to this rule the Sakyas were exempted from Parivasa or probation when entering the Sangha. Otherwise from the top to the bottom all brethren were looked upon as equals and the inheritors of the Dhamma of the Buddha. There were

¹Cullavagga I 13, 6

²Mujumdar thinks that the relation between the individual and the corporation is brought out by the general presumption in the Buddhist law that everything belongs to the Sangha and not to any individual monk, and that the latter can only possess that which has been specifically allotted to him etc.

³Mujumdar, *Corporate life in Ancient India* p 315

worthy Brahmins like Suvutta, Moggallāna Kassapa of Uruvela. There were able Sakyas and Kśatriyas like Ānanda, Rāhula Nanda etc. There were also Dhaniya the potter's son Upali born in a barber's family¹, Suppiya the Candula², Sopāka born in cemetery³, Sunita the scavenger⁴ and so on. The classification of Bhikkhus was based on their progress in spiritual attainment of the four stages viz. Sotapanna Sakadagami Anagami and Arahant. It was in short, a representative institution.

Daily Duties Not only young pupils in the Sangha, but the monks also were expected and urged to be busy.

1) As far as the spiritual pursuits went meditation if thoroughly tried and accomplished – robbed away hours together of the day. Early hours of the morning and the quiet hours of the night and afternoon were specially chosen for meditation.

2) The begging tours also occupied much of their time in the morning.

3) The training of young pupils was another task.

The pupils or Siddhivihārikas were subordinate to the teacher and had to wait personally upon him from morning till night. To keep the Vihāra clean and keeping the furniture etc. neat and tidy were some of their special duties⁵.

¹Mrs Rhys Davids, *Psalm of Brethren*, p. 168

²*Ibid*, p. 36

³*Ibid*, pp. 37-38

⁴Stinders, *Buddha*, p. 60

⁵*Nāharagga* I, 25.6

Occasional duties The occasional duties were a cause of great bustle and excitement in the Sangha. As for instance, if a new student or Bhikkhu was to be ordained a council of twenty monks had to be organized to take him or her into the Order or a formal meeting of the fraternity was held on the Uposatha day to rectify the Patimokkha or a Bhikkhu or Bhikkhuni was censured for his or her conduct or a dispute was to be settled by votes etc. Naturally, these functions broke or at least lessened the monotony of the mechanical life in the Sangha.

Upasampadā Of all the occasional functions, the Upasampadā, the formal entrance of a Bhikkhu in the Sangha and the formal sanction of the Sangha to his application, was the most solemn and interesting. The addition of new candidates into the Sangha, told itself for the victory of the Sangha, and consequently, of the monastic life over the life of the world. Whatever may be the real reason of embracing religious life, the Buddhists always interpreted that a person accepted orders, to fly from the ties of family-life and to seek salvation, and happiness. The ceremony of the Upasampadā was a passport to holy life in the Sangha. It was called so because it was the chief means, or the first step taken by a Bhikkhu to understand evil and to accomplish good thereby.¹ In the early days of the Order, the Upasampadā ceremony was simple and direct. The person desirous of monkhood, went to the Buddha and requested him to accept him as his disciple, and the Buddha accepted him by the simple utterance of 'Ehi Bhikkhu' etc. Later on due to the increase in the number of candidates and the spread of

¹*Dhammapada*, verse 3, Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, p. 532.

his creed on a large scale, he transferred this right to other disciples also. And since then the complicated process of receiving a person by 'Tisarana' and by the formal sanction of the Sangha came into practice.² Thus the Upasampada which formerly lay beyond the legal sphere, came to be a regular Sangha kamma and began with a Ñatti³

The distinction between the Upasampada and the Pabbajja, also came later on. Formerly by 'Ehi Bhikkhu' the person received the Upasampada at once. Later on the Pabbajja came first and then the Upasampada.⁴ The word Pabbajja means 'going out of the home'. The conferring of the Pabbajja however did not require the formal approval of the Sangha by a Sangha-kamma like the Upasampada. Only the Tisarana utterance was necessary.⁵ The candidate (by no means under the age of twenty⁶) was to go to a fully ordained person⁷, wise⁸, learned⁹, upright⁹, and of 5-10 years standing¹⁰ in the Sangha and had to

¹ *Mahavagga*, I, 12, 4

² *Ibid*, I, 23, 3

³ S. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism* pp 148-149

⁴ Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp 77-78

⁵ *Mahavagga*, I, 54, 5

⁶ *Ibid*, I 75. Dabba of the Mallas however was ordered at the age of seven. Mrs Rhys Davids, *Psalms of Brethren*, p 10

⁷ *Ibid*, I, 31, 1

⁸ *Ibid*, I, 35, 1.

⁹ *Ibid*, I, 31, 4

⁹ *Ibid*, I, 69, 4

¹⁰ *Ibid*, I, 31 and I, 32, 1.

request him to let himself be his disciple and attendant. The consent of the parents or guardians of the novice also must be obtained before conferring the Pabbajja on him¹. The novice had to lead ten years of probation² under a spiritual head appointed by the Sangha³. Day and night the novice had to wait upon the preceptor⁴. The relation between the teacher and the pupil was known traditionally as *Brahmacariya* but as the Buddhist Sangha differentiated itself from the rest of the ascetic world it also coined a number of technical terms for various common customs and made them trademarks of Buddhism. So gradually the word '*Brahmacariya*' though not altogether discarded was thrown into the background as far as it conveyed the special meaning viz. the relation between the tutor and the pupil and a new word essentially Buddhist in its

¹*Mahavajja* I, 54. Rahula the son of Gotama was ordained merely on his asking for ordination. Saddhodana Gotama's father urged upon him that the consent of the parents should be taken.

²*Ibid*, I, 32-1.

³*Ibid*, I 25, 3.

⁴In the *Vinaya Itakā*, there are two terms for the instructor, the *Ācariya* and the *Upajjhaya*. The *Ācariya* was the original and real teacher who used to give the *Nissiya* to the pupil while the *Upajjhaya* was the formally elected preceptor who conferred *Upasāpada* on a *Bhikkhu* and hence a teacher only in name. Really speaking there is no difference whatsoever between the duties of the two. The latter however was a more important figure in the Sangha (*Vinaya Texts* Pt foot pp 178-179, foot note ²).

connotation and application—Nissaya—was used for it. Nissaya means 'dependence', as far as the pupil is concerned, he is dependent on the Ācariya and in case of the preceptor he gives protection to the Sāmanera¹. Later on Nissaya also signified the relation between an Uppajjhaya and Saddhivihārika². The word Nissaya got this significance owing to the practice of telling the four fundamental Nissayas³ to the Saddhivihārika, after he received Upasampada. The pupil was not given Nissaya until he proved himself mentally, morally and physically fit to accept it⁴. A Bhikkhu once having accepted Nissaya had to keep it for ten years⁵, (in the case of an exceptionally learned Bhikkhu the period was 5 years, a foolish and incapable Bhikkhu had to keep it even all his life)⁶.

Usually the Bhikkhu was not to live without Nissaya⁷, but under special circumstances viz death or misbehaviour of the Ācariya etc it was suspended⁸.

After the Upasampada, the Bhikkhu became a regular member of the Sangha he could take part in all the proceedings of the Sangha except that he could not undertake the task of training the novices until he was

¹Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, I, p 170 foot note 1.

²*Ibid*, I, 76, 1, also *Mahavagga* I, 36, 1.

³*Mahavagga*, I, 30, 4

⁴*Ibid*, I, 31, 1

⁵*Ibid*, I, 36, 5

⁶*Ibid*, I, 53, 4

⁷*Ibid*, I, 30

⁸*Ibid*, I, 36, 1, I, 53, 5

ten years a fully ordained monk¹ Generally all people, especially, the Tittthiyas had to undergo probation of four months before ordination² the Jatilas and Sakyas being exempted³

We know, thus from the Vinaya-Pitaka, how the exercise of the rules of Upasampada kept the talents and time of both the Upajjhaya and Saddhaviharika fully occupied and engaged

Upasatha On the sacred day of the Uposatha also prevailed great bustle and excitement in the Sangha On this day a Bhikkhu recited the rules of the Patimokkha confessed if he had done any wrong, and obtained moral purity thereby The significance of the Buddhist fast day (Upasatha) and the Brahmaical one is essentially the same, though the tradition attached to it changed Hiranyakeśin, talking about the importance of the Upavasatha, says 'upavrittastu parebhyo yastu vasa gunath saha upavasah sa vyneyah'⁴ Thus, to get rid of evil by the company of the virtuous is same in both the cases On this day all the brethren in one Āvāsa came together to recite Dhamma⁵, in one appointed place⁶ On

¹*Mahāvagga*, I, 32, 1

²*Ibid*, I, 38, 1

³*Ibid*, I, 38, 11.

⁴This means that Upavasa (fast) is called so because it enjoins one to keep away from sinners and seek the company of the virtuous.

⁵*Mahāvagga*, II, 2

⁶*Ibid*, II, 8, 4.

this occasion a Therā in the boundary of the Āvāsa by the appointment of the Sangha¹ preached Dhamma or selected some other Bhikkhu² for the job

The Uposatha day in fact was the day on which the Sangha was to be alert and active. It was also a day of rejoicing to ordinary Bhikkhus because meals were given to the Sangha on each Uposatha day³

Vassa The days of rain retreat were however, the busiest days with the Bhikkhus. This period of Vassa coincides with the monsoon season in India, it began with full moon day of Āsāḍha and ended on the full moon of Kattika⁴. This period the Bhikkhus had to pass in settled colonies regulated by the limitations of the Āvāsa, in quarters specially suited to the needs of the Bhikkhus. Five kinds of buildings were allowed by the Buddha for that purpose viz, Guha, Harmya, Adhyayoga, Pasada and Vihara. The ceremony of entering upon the Vassa, is very precisely put by Buddhaghosa. 'They are to look after their Vihara (if it is in a proper state) to provide food and water for themselves, to fulfil all due ceremonies such as paying reverence to sacred shrines etc. and to say loudly once twice or thrice I enter upon Vassa in this Vihara for these three months'. Then they are to enter upon the Vassa⁵

¹ *Mahavagga*, II, 15, 6-7

² *Ibid*, II, 15, 5

³ *Ibid*, I, 30, 4

⁴ *Ibid*, III, 2, 2

⁵ Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, *Vinaya Texts*, Pt I, p 229

The Vassupanayika (entering upon the Vassa) was absolutely obligatory on the part of a Bhikkhu, if this rule was violated the guilty Bhikkhu was charged with Dukkata¹. A Bhikkhu who once began the Vassa could not change his residence² except under special circumstances he could be absent from his residence for a week and could break the Vassa temporarily only on account of grave emergency and not if the Bhikkhus Bhikkhunis Sikkhamanas, Samaneras, lay-devotees or female devotees did not send for him³.

However, in case when a Bhikkhu or Bhikkhuni was sick⁴, in case the mental peace of a Bhikkhu was disturbed⁵, in case a Bhikkhu took a false doctrine⁶, in case a Bhikkhu or Bhikkhuni was sentenced for a grave offence viz Parivasa, Manatta etc.⁷ in case a Bhikkhu or Bhikkhuni was rehabilitated⁸, if in case the Sangha was going to proceed against a Bhikkhu or a Bhikkhuni Tappaniya-kamma Pabbajaniya-kamma etc.⁹ in case the Upasampada was to be conferred upon the Sikkhamana¹⁰ in case a Samanera or a Sikkhamana, or a Samanera were sick¹¹ or they

¹ *Mahavagga*, III, 4, 2

² *Ibid*, III, 4, 2

³ *Ibid*, III, 5, 4

⁴ *Ibid*, III, 6, 2, III, 6, 12-15

⁵ *Ibid*, III, 6, 3

⁶ *Ibid*, III, 6, 16-17

⁷ *Ibid*, III, 6, 7, 8

⁸ *Ibid*, III, 6, 9, 18

⁹ *Ibid*, III, 6, 10, 19, 20

¹⁰ *Ibid*, III, 6, 23, and 26

¹¹ *Ibid*, III, 6, 25, 27, 28

wanted to take upon themselves the precepts¹ etc then a Bhikkhu could break the Vassa for seven days even

Residence during Vassa The residence could also be changed during the Vassa, if there was any danger to the life of the Vihara from wild beasts, reptiles, or from the Vihara which was on the brink of ruin, or if a person tried to tempt a Bhikkhu with gold, or sensual pleasure. Any way the moral and physical safety was secured first. Only when no danger or emergency of any sort described above, presented, the Bhikkhu could under no plea change his quarters. The Vassa thus served the intended object, viz of saving the green plants etc, which were trodden by the feet of the wandering Bhikkhus and of doing away with the troubles and dangers which the Bhikkhus encountered while journeying in the rains. Thus for avoiding any harm that would befall a Bhikkhu in the rains, to prevent too many Bhikkhus thronging together, to recite and to further the cause of Dhamma through discussions, exchange of thought, teaching and learning when many Bhikkhus from different provinces and of different capacity came together, the system of making convenient *Āvasas* was fixed by natural boundaries was introduced. The boundaries of an *Āvasa* were fixed by streams, lakes hills, ridges, anthills, a road, woods etc. This place however, was neither too near nor far removed from the city, it should be at any place where alms were easily got.

The Mahavagga even throws a clear warning that Vassa should not be kept where a majority of people

¹ *Mahavagga*, III, 6, 29.

were non-believers as in such a place the Bhikkhus would not be supported by the people¹. Safety being the chief motive of the rain retreat it is not unnatural to find a Bhikkhu a wandering mendicant with very little personal possessions, a lover of the open air settle under a roof. The Buddha had made a precise rule that no Bhikkhu was to keep the Vassa in the open air², nor in a hollow tree³. They were also given instructions that they could not enter upon the Vassa in a house meant for keeping dead bodies⁴, or under a sunshade⁵ or under an earthenware vessel⁶. The last two ways of entering upon the Vassa however, seem improbable and even invented, because neither the sunshade nor the earthen vessel proved a good shelter in the rains. The objection of the Buddha on the other hand, that the Bhikkhus should not live in hollow trees, or in the home where dead bodies were kept is quite sound and natural.

What sort of resting place should the Bhikkhus choose? A cattle-pen served a fit place to them. The Bhikkhus could also choose if they liked a caravan, or a

¹ *Mahavagga*, III, 10

² *Ibid*, III, 12, 5

³ *Ibid*, III, 12, 3-4

⁴ *Ibid*, III, 12, 6

⁵ *Ibid*, III, 1-, 8.

⁶ *Ibid*, III, 12, 9, *Jabala-Upanisad*, 6, prescribes various ways of choosing residence, in the rains. One among them is to live under a potter's shade. This custom of the Pārivrājakas has been probably mistaken by the Buddhist for the habit of living under earthenware vessel.

ship, by doing so the Bhikkhus could still resume their journey on land or water. But these ways of entering upon the Vassa, though sanctioned by the Buddha were neither obligatory nor were they suitable to all the Bhikkhus, for the majority of the Bhikkhus the Buddha advised simple and comfortable lodging places like the Adhyayoga, Vihāra, Harmya, an attic or a cave. These buildings were in most cases built and presented to the Sangha by the lay-people, sometimes even Bhikkhus or Bhikkhunis, Sāmaṇeris or Sāmaṇeras, could build them on their own responsibility, and offered them to the Bhikkhu-Sangha or the Bhikkhuni-Sangha or individual Bhikkhus or Bhikkhunis, Samaneras or Samaneris¹. It was the philanthropic Settlin of Rajagaha that made the first offering of such dwelling places to the Sangha². Anāthapīṇḍika offered the Ārama of Jetavana. Soon it became a fashion to build the Viharas etc. in spacious Āramas or parks³, marked off by bamboo fences, thorn fences or ditches. The Bhikkhus as we know, were not allowed to do gardening etc. and the parks were to be kept clean and in order. Rich people again did not show any reluctance in providing Āramikas in the service of the Bhikkhus. In the Mahāvagga we find the story of the Bhikkhu Pīṇḍavaccha who was given a giant of five hundred Āramikas by King Bimbisāra⁴. Viharas were also built on the clearings of the forests⁵.

¹ *Mahāvagga*, III, 5, 13

² *Cullavagga*, VI, 1, 5

³ *Ibid*, VI, 3, 10.

⁴ *Mahāvagga*, VI, 15, 2.

⁵ *Ibid*, I, 13, 4.

We thus see how the prohibition to keep the Vassa in open air, resulted in various dwelling places for the Bhikkhus. The process suggests the rise and growth of of coenobium in primitive Buddhism, which later on developed on account of various other reasons in wealthy monasteries as we find in Asoka's time or at present in Tibet China Japan Ceylon etc.

Growth of monasticism Traces of monasticism can be seen as early as the Khandhakas. In fact it started with the Atirekalābha (extra allowance) on the Nissaya that one should live under a tree alone. The extra allowances sanction five kinds of dwellings as is already mentioned they were built directly under the supervision of the Bhikkhus, the site of the Vihara was specially chosen or approved by the Sangha¹. The Viharas etc. again were to be snug and solid buildings which would last for several years the huts made purely of mud were strongly disapproved². They were equipped with all sorts of conveniences such as dwelling rooms, retiring rooms store rooms, service halls halls with fire places in them store houses closets and cloisters and halls for exercise etc. and wells and sheds for them and bathrooms and halls attached to the bathroom and ponds and open roofed sheds³. Great care was taken to promote the hygienic welfare of the Sangha. There were windows with three kinds of lattices⁴, doors, stairs, varandas sanitary arrange-

¹ *Sanghadāyasa*, 6-7

² *Vinaya*, III, p 42, Na Sabha-mattika Kutika Kalabba

³ *Vinaya Texts*, III, p 189.

⁴ *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 15, 18, *Cullavagga*, VI, 2, 2, VIII, A, 5

ments¹, drainage etc. They were also decently furnished by chairs², divans³, bedsteads⁴, stands⁵, mattresses, floor coverings⁶ and so on. The Viharas were white washed the rooms were colored black and walls with red chalk. They could also be decorated by painting creepers wreaths etc⁷. The Viharas in the beginning i.e. as the *Mahavagga* and *Cullavagga* tell us were quite distinct from the *Sangharamas* or Viharas of Asokan or Ceylonese times. The *Sangharamas* were monasteries where the *Bhikkhus* had permanent quarters, while most of the earlier Viharas as I have already mentioned were quarters built for an individual or a group of individuals, in fact the *Vihara* meant a dwelling place or a private apartment for a single *Bhikkhu*⁸. The *Setthi* of *Rajagaha* is said to have built sixty Viharas for the *Bhikkhus* in one day⁹, and most probably they were cells for individual *Bhikkhus*. The second stage of the monastic buildings was that a long verandah with a cell behind it constituted a *Vihara*, this sort of *Vihara* was divided into several cells known as *Parivenas*. The whole *Vihāra* was of a

¹*Cullavagga*, V, 35

²*Mahavagga* V, II, *Cullavagga* VI, VI, 8

³*Cullavagga*, VI, 2, 3

⁴*Ibid*, VI, 2, 3, VIII, I, 4

⁵*Ibid*, VI, 26

⁶*Ibid*, VI, 20. As for the rules and the list of the furniture etc. is also given in *Mahavagga* I, 25, 16, *Cullavagga*, V, 19, V, 31, VI, VIII, 13, 3, 3

⁷*Ibid*, VI, 3, 1-2

⁸*Vinaya Texts* Pt II, p. 383

⁹*Cullavagga*, VI, 1, 4

rectangular shape. Thus change from the individualistic life to the collective life in the Vihāra can be noticed as early as the period of the Khandhakas. The Mahāvagga records an instance where the Vibhāras and Parivenas are clearly mentioned¹.

Āvāsa The fixing up boundaries of an Āvāsa, so as to forbid Bhikkhus living beyond the boundary to perform an official act etc. prepared an easy ground for the growth of local communities. A Bhikkhu undergoing Parivāsa was not to change his residence and stay with the outsiders, only when it was absolutely necessary to change residence, he should go and stay with the Bhikkhus in the same community (*samanavasakas*) only², with this idea came into being various small Sanghas bearing the place names.

Pavarāṇā Pavarāṇā is the antithesis of the Vassupannāyika so far as it concludes the period of the Vassa. It took place on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month (*Catuddasika* and *Pamamasika*) of Kattika. Some time the Bhikkhus did not like to vacate their comfortable places at once, or some difficulty arose so that Pavarāṇā could not be performed on that day, in such cases the

¹ *Mahāvagga*, VI, 36, 4

² *Mahāvagga*, IX, 1, 7, *Cullavagga*, VI, II, 3

³ *Cullavagga*, II, 1, 3, A Bhikkhu wherever he might be for the time being, he was said to belong to a particular Āvāsa where he was bound to spend the rain retreat and where Senasana was provided for him (S. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, p. 132)

date was postponed to the day of *Komudi Catumasini*. It was however an obligatory ceremony and could not be discarded. Its nature is like the *Patimokkha* procedure judicial. The *Mahavagga* tells us that the Buddha enjoined the Bhikkhus to lead the Vassa together. Naturally when too many people gathered together there were misunderstandings misdeeds lapses etc. which were to be cleared before the gathering was dissolved. This was done by inviting the Bhikkhus by *Sangha kamma* and *Natti* to confess their faults accuse the wrong doer and proclaim the sort of punishment or penance the guilty person deserved¹. The *Pavāraṇa* was introduced by the Buddha with the intention that the Bhikkhus might live in peace and happiness sharing mutual confidences during the Vassa.

Later on the *Pavāraṇa* ceremony was distinguished by two kinds viz. the *Mahāvāraṇa* and *Sangha-Pavāraṇa* (the abridged *Pavāraṇa*)². The *Sangha* is totally different from the former one viz. the postponing of *Pavāraṇa* to *Komudi Catumasini*. This is an instance which shows how the *Vinaya* and its terminology were undergoing gradual change from time to time.

Kathina The Buddhist rain retreat assumed a busy aspect owing to the distribution of *Kathina* cotton cloth in the *Sangha*. The clothes were dyed repaired washed and properly preserved and distributed ceremoniously, accompanied with *Sangha-kamma* and *Natti*.

¹*Mahavagga*, IV, 16

²Rhys Davids, *Pali Dictionary* p 66, *Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p 241

The rules about *Kathina* however are in many places obscure and it is at times difficult to understand the exact significance of the rules and their practical application. Most of the *Nissaggiya Paccittiya* rules and the rules regarding the suspension of *Kathina Attihara*¹ are of this type.

The *Kathina* was the name formerly given to hard cotton cloth alone, but gradually as the rules regarding the dress of the *Bhikkhus* relaxed, even silk and other finer fabrics² came to be known by the common term 'Kathina'. Consequently *Kathina* came to be the designation of the common clothing of the *Bhikkhus* in the Sangha.

The clothes were regarded as the property of the Sangha. It was permissible to *Upasakas* to offer a particular *Bhikkhu* a piece of cloth, but that he had to give to the *Bhikkhu* in the name of the Sangha³. Thus the Sangha used to receive and store cotton cloth. Before distributing the cloth was dyed yellow or orange colour, it was stitched and robes were made⁴.

To see whether all the inmates of the Sangha got their share or not. To receive duly robes from the *Upasakas* and to save the cloth from destruction, a special robe-receiver (*Civarapatiggahaka*) was appointed by the formal consent of the Sangha. The clothes were sorted, estimated and shared according to their proper value. Then the

¹*Mahavagga*, VII, 3-10

²*Ibid*, VIII, 2, 35-36, VIII, 3

³*Ibid*, VIII, 5, 2.

⁴*Ibid*, VIII, II, 2, 29.

assembled Bhikkhus were counted, divided into groups, and then distribution was made accordingly¹

After the robes were ready, a pile was made of them. A competent senior Bhikkhu (Civarabhajaka) came forward and with a formal procedure in immediate distribution was effected. Every Bhikkhu who spent the Vassa in the same Āvāsa was entitled to have a share in it². As in the case of the Senasanas no outsider could claim a share in the Kathina. The distribution was made on thoroughly democratic principles. All the inmates were to have an equal share of robes, viz. three, the most needy served first, the Theras being no exception to this³. Only the novices shared half the portion⁴.

The Kathina was suspended in case a Bhikkhu changed his domicile or his wardrobe was new and not in a condition to be given up when other Bhikkhus had their Kathina⁵. In case a Bhikkhu spent Vassa in one place and attended the Kathina at another, he should receive half the portion of clothes from either domicile⁶.

The Dress. The dress of a Bhikkhu was of two kinds, Pamsukulika as well as Gahapatika⁷. The former

¹ *Mahavagga*, VIII, 99

² *Ibid*, VII, 1, 5.

³ *Ibid*, VII, 13, 1

⁴ *Ibid*, VIII, 9, 2.

⁵ *Ibid*, VIII, 5, VIII, 6

⁶ *Ibid*, VIII, 1, 7

⁷ *Ibid*, 25, 4

⁸ *Cullavagga*, V, 10, 2

was the original raiment of a Bhikkhu picked from dust heap, orange in colour while the latter was provided by the householders and generally of white colour. As the bounty of the laity increased the Pamsukulika fell into the background and soon it was made a rule that no Bhikkhu was to take a vow of wearing Pamsukulika alone¹.

The 'Tevivara' of a Bhikkhu consisted of an upper cloak, a waist cloth and an under garment viz Sanghati, Uttarāsanga and Antaravasaka, all being oblong in shape. The upper robe was a single garment but the other two could be double or even fourfold².

It was a strict rule that a Bhikkhu whenever he was to go out must put on the three robes, and that too must be done decently and neatly. He could dispose of the Sanghati only when he was sick when it was appointed time for keeping the Vassa, when it was necessary to go to the other side of the river, when the Vihara had been securely fastened with bolts etc.

The Bhikkhu was by no means to keep superfluous clothing by him, if he got hold of one, within ten days' time he was to hand it over to another brother who was in need of it³. Similarly, receiving a robe untimely (Akālacivara) viz excluding the day of Kathina or when there was no necessity of having a new robe, was forbidden by law⁴.

¹ Vinaya, III, pp 169-171

² Mahāragga, VIII, 14, 2.

³ Ibid, VIII, 23

⁴ Ibid, VIII, 13, 8

⁵ Vinaya, III, p 202, IV, pp 284, 287

Food The rules regarding food are not so important as that of the raiment. The Bhikkhus took only one meal a day under the plea that it was beneficial for good health, and that too after the midday¹. Besides begging at the odd hours of night aroused suspicion and brought many a Bhikkhu in trouble². The alms consisted of cooked food and were received in bowls alone³. Great sobriety of manner was to be kept while touring the village for alms and a Bhikkhu was to accept anything the householder gave without the least displeasure. The alms were brought to the Vibura. The Bhikkhus used to dine in a hall, the places occupied according to seniority. The eight seniormost Bhikkhus reserved the first eight seats, others coming occupied the seats as they used to come in⁴. The Buddha lays down a long prescription of rules as the etiquette the Bhikkhus should observe while taking their food and receiving the alms⁵. Most of the Sekhiya rules come under this class and are needlessly detailed.

The Buddhists had like their contemporaries strong notions about the purity and impurity of food. However like other Tīthiyas they had no objection in receiving food from outcasts pregnant women etc., neither did they refuse things like fish, rice gruel etc., as other ascetics did. They could take animal food as well. The only precaution

¹Pācittiya 37

²*Majjima-Nikaya* II, 2, 6

³*Cullavagga*, V, p 10.

⁴*Ibid*, 18

⁵Sekhiya, 27-40, 41-50.

taken was that a Bhikkhu was forbidden to eat flesh of a beast purposely killed for his sake¹ and the flesh of useful animals as horses elephants etc.² and of other animals like dogs etc.³

A reader often finds tempting descriptions of various kinds of dinners accompanied with delicious dishes of hard and soft food provided for the Sangha by devout people like Anatha pindika Visakha Menaka etc.

Management We have so far seen how the Sangha exercised its authority in regulating even the most personal affairs of a Bhikkhu and guarded him from falling into low depths. The guardianship vested in the invisible Sangha become manifest through the exercise of various laws and through various agents elected by the Bhikkhus themselves. The departments were fairly distinguished and each department had an honorary head or supervisor. It is probably for the first time in the history of the world polity we see a clear distinction made between functions and appointments of persons made on the two modern principles of the division of labour and democracy.

The management of the Sangha on the basic principles of republican authority and equality again reveals the Buddha not as a mere ascetic uninterested in the world but as a shrewd and quickeyed politician who picked up the best out of the controlling and progressive forces of actual life and applied them to his system. The Buddha has shown common sense and practical wisdom in the

¹ *Mahavagga*, VI, 31-14

² *Ibid*, 7, 23, 10

³ *Ibid*, 23, 12

appointment of various supervisors in each of the departments as Kautilya has done in ascribing the post and the work of each of the officers in the *Adhyakṣapracara*

First come the Upajjhāyas and Ācāryas who exerted a direct control on the novices that were not yet called authorised members of the Āśāsa, because it was only men and women on whom Upasampada was bestowed were regarded as recognized and responsible members of the Sangha. Thus in the outset the Sangha was naturally divided in two groups of the tutors and the taught. We have already noticed that the Ācāryas and Upajjhāyas were directly responsible for the spiritual as well as moral and physical welfare of the Samanera. The appointment of a Samnerapesaka¹ therefore seems superfluous. What work he really did does not at all become clear from the accounts of the Vinaya.

Officers. There were about a score of officers in the Sangha. They were men of upright character and endowed with the five qualifications²

The officers were appointed according to the need of the time and the nature of the work that lay before the Sangha. The Vinaya-books do not say clearly which officers were permanent and which were temporary. But from the nature of the work allotted to them we can infer the

¹ *Cullavagga*, VI, 21

² One who does not do partiality, one who does not walk in malice and who does not walk in folly, one who does not walk in fear, one who knows what has been taken and what has not been taken (*Vinaya-Texts*, III, p. 25)

durability of their respective posts. The permanent officers naturally must have been men of great responsibility and perfectly trustworthy. The permanency of the job also is to be ascertained from the duration of communal life at an Āvāsa. The post is therefore, reckoned to be permanent when it lasted from the beginning of the communal life to its end. However, as long as we have not been able to trace out the duration of canonical life in and after the Vassa we cannot put forward any conclusion as to the durability or stability of these offices and since the Vinaya-books are so confoundingly silent on the matter, any investigation in this matter, depends on the help of common sense and inference only.

One thing again to be taken in account about these officers of the Sangha is that excepting a few cases of the apportioner of food, Kathina-vattharaka and Nava-kammika Senasauvagahapaka, the exact nature and extent of their work is not clearly specified. Only the titles signifying their duty very vaguely are recorded. The division of the officers also is not based on a grade since the five qualities of an officer are equally applied to all and the Sangha made no distinction between them.

(A) *Officers in charge of food-stuffs* These officers were most probably appointed temporarily. The Culla-vagga regarding the history of their appointment says that the appointments were made through unusual circumstances arising out of scarcity of food in Rajagaha and the people could not send sufficient food to the Sangha. Whatever food reached the Sangha was consumed by the Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus alone and the rest got unwholesome scraps of food. This unequal

distribution gave rise to discontent and the discontent invited the attention of the Buddha to the matter. The Buddha thereupon, to check the evil, appointed the Sanghabhatta, (the apportioner of food)¹. Thus the Sanghabhatta and other officers were appointed when foodstuffs rated very high in the Sangha or when foodstuffs were sent to the Sangha in a large quantity. Thus the officers in charge of the ration were probably dismissed and again elected according to the need.

The Sanghabhatta seems to be an apportioner of cooked food, this duty was to make heaps of food, fastening tickets or marks upon them. Dabba was appointed the apportioner of food². The Civabhajaka³ (distributor of congey) and Yagubhajaka⁴ (distributor of Yagu a kind of ricepulp) were minor officers.

To distribute uncooked, raw edibles the Phalabhajaka⁵ (distributor of fruit) and the Khajjabhajaka⁶ (distributor of dry food) were appointed.

(B) *Officers in charge of wardrobe*. The robe receiver or Civarapatiggahapaka⁷ was appointed to receive the robes the laymen gave the Sangha, these robes were generally received at the end of Vassa, and therefore, the office of this individual also seems to be temporary.

¹ *Cullavagga*, VI 21, 1.

² *Ibid*, IV, 4, 3.

³ *Ibid*, VI, 21, 2.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ *Ibid*.

As a helping hand to the Civarapatiggaḥapaka a Sattiyaggaḥapaka¹ (distributor of undergarments) was appointed. There were also Kathana-vatthakakas (distributors of Kathana) who were essentially temporary officers.

(C) *The managers of the Viharas and the property of the Sangha* The Navakammika was the superintendent of the building of the Viharas. His work was of great responsibility and importance. He was also a man who knew a bit of engineering, for he was to guide and supervise the work of the building of the Sangha as well as the buildings of the laymen if they wished so.² He was also expected to get a Vihara repaired if it was broken or worn out.³ The venerable Sudhamma residing in Macchikasāḍa was a Navakammika for Citta the householder.⁴

The Āramikapesaka (the overseer of the Āramikas) was to supervise the work of the Āramikas. Pindilavaccha was probably an Āramikapesaka, but his appointment is nowhere said to be made by the Sangha. It was King Bimbisara who gave him a grant of five hundred Āramikas. The Buddha gave his sanction to the grant, but nowhere did he say that the Bhikkhu Pindilavaccha was an Āramikapesaka. Probably, the word was coined later on by the Buddhists and the post of an Āramikapesaka day by day became necessary for the welfare of the Sangha.

¹Cullavagga, VI, 233

²Ibid, I, 18, 1, VI, 5, 3

³Ibid VI, 5, 2

⁴Ibid I, 18, 1

The *Paṇḍita*, officer in charge of the groves, was appointed later on¹

There was also a man, the regulator of lodging places, as *Dabba* of the *Mallas*, known as *Senāsana-gahapaka*. It was he who could lodge the *Bhikkhus* in various places so as to avoid friction and promote unity in the *Sangha*². This led first to the separate lodging places for the *Dhammadharas* and the *Vinayadharas*. In short, he was an officer with considerable influence, and kept the *Sangha* in order. Another officer whose work though of less importance was of the same nature as that of the *Senāsana-gahapaka*. He is the *Āsanapaññāpaka* (the regulator of seats)³. The *Bhikkhu*, *Ajita* was made the regulator of seats at the time of the Council of *Vesali*. His work was to see whether the *Theras* were provided proper seats or not. This post however, is not mentioned with the rest in the *Cullavagga*, probably because his office was not of authority⁴ or because the necessity of such an office suggested to the members of the *Sangha* only when a big assembly, as the Council of *Vesali* was held, and there was likely to be confusion as regards which place a person might occupy.

¹Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 83.

²'This is the couch and this the stool, and this the mat and this the pillow, and this the privy place, and this the drinking water, and this the water for washing and this the staff, and this the form of (the result of the consultation of the *Sangha*), that at such and such a time are you to enter upon and at such and such a time are you to part therefrom.'
Vinaya Texts, III, p. 8

³*Cullavagga*, XII, 2, 7.

⁴*Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 408.

The Kappiyakarakā was appointed in the Sangha to receive gifts of money from laymen and convert them into proper commodities. He was also to check the Bhikkhus from dealing in barter etc.¹ The Bhandagarika was in charge of the stores.²

There was also the disposer of trifles, (Appamattaka viṣṣajjaka) who used to distribute trifles like the needle, the pair of scissors, the pair of sandals etc.³ The Pattagahapaka was to store and distribute bowls.⁴ Later on, after the Buddha was gone, after a lapse of a few centuries a storer of vessels Bhajanāvārika, and an Upadhivara, a steward came to be appointed.⁵ Besides these men who took care of the property of the Sangha, there was an officer temporarily appointed to dispose of bullion, he was known as 'Rupiyacchadaka'. Whenever a Bhikkhu used to amass silver or gold an act contrary to the precepts of the Vinaya that silver or gold was taken from him by the Sangha and a person of reliable character was appointed to dispose of the silver. He was to go in a distant, forsaken place and to throw away the treasure without making any mark on the place where he left it.⁶

(D) There were also other temporarily appointed officers as the Salakagahapaka, the reciter of the Patimokkha, the president of the Uposatha assembly,

¹ Vinaya, IV, p 242.

² Cullavagga, VI, 21, 2

³ Ibid, VI, 21, 3

⁴ Ibid,

⁵ Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p 83

⁶ Vinaya Texts, 1, p 26 note 4

the exhorter of the Bhikkhus etc and the nature and significance of their work has already been discussed

Property Everything that was in the Sangha or handed down to the Bhikkhus for their personal use was technically looked upon as the property of the Sangha alone. Rules were made to check the tendency among some Bhikkhus to deprive other Bhikkhus of their legitimate dwellings¹, or seats², or robes³ or such other things. The personal possession of a Bhikkhu was limited to very few things, viz the 'Tecivara', the bowl, the Thavika needle with its case, sandals, Gilana, etc.

On the death of a Bhikkhu all his belongings came to the Sangha⁴, as it happened on the death of Kassapa formerly a Jatila⁵, or were distributed among those Bhikkhus who waited upon him during his last illness⁶. On the death of a Bhikkhuni her property if she wished was left to the Bhikkhuni-Sangha, but it never went to the Bhikkhu-Sangha. No Bhikkhu could possess silver or gold or any such precious things.

Even the Sangha could not receive gold etc, but later on the Bhikkhus violated this rule and started accepting bullion, which invited disapproval of many a Bhikkhu and the matter was brought before the council of Vesali,

¹Cullavagga, VI, II, 1

²Mahavagga, VIII, 27, 5

³Cullavagga, V, 37, 1.

⁴Mahāvagga, VIII, 27, 5

⁵Nissaggiya-Pacittiya, 19-20

⁶Cullavagga, X, II, 1

accompanied by eleven other points. In the Suttavibhaṅga however, the Kappiyikaraka is said specially to be appointed to receive money from people and buy useful articles for the Saṅgha.

The property of the Saṅgha was of two kinds (1) that which could not be disposed of, (2) and that which could be disposed of.

1) The property such as (a) an Ālāma, (b) Vibāna, (c) bed, pillow etc., (d) brass vessels etc., (e) bamboos etc., could neither be disposed of by a Saṅgha nor a Gana¹. It was the permanent property of the Saṅgha of the four quarters of all times. Similarly, the property of the Saṅgha was not to be divided².

2) The rest of the property like the foodstuffs, cloths, vessels etc., could be disposed of with the formal meeting of the Saṅgha.

The Buddhist Saṅgha in the beginning taking its stand on the Four Nissayas, owned no property but with the bounty of the people it gradually received fine clothes of all kinds brassware, earthenware, wooden things³ etc. various kinds of foodstuffs, medicaments, furniture buildings, grounds etc. In the Khandhakas only we see how the Saṅgha was provided with all sorts of useful articles, which afforded comfort and had not yet developed in luxury. But later on receiving gifts from the people became a 'both right' with the Saṅgha. In the Kathavatthu a Theravadin's view is thus given, 'But is not the Order

¹ *Cullavagga*, VI, 15, 2

² *Ibid.*, VI, 16, 1

³ *Ibid.*, V, 37, 1

worthy of offerings, of hospitality of gifts of salutations, as the world's supreme, field of merit? How can it be wrong to say that it accepts gifts? The same book also tells us how the gifts to the Sangha bring great reward and that the Sangha purifies the gifts¹

If a Bhikkhu diverted the use of any individual property dedicated to the Sangha, it constituted an offence². However, exchange of personal property was allowed even between Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis and intimate acquaintances (but not with a Paribbajaka etc³) if they were related⁴. But if a Bhikkhu had given away a thing in a regularly constituted Sangha, with a formal declaration, he could not grumble and claim it back⁵.

To leave the order To leave the Sangha was permissible by the Buddhist canon. We hear of several instances where the Bhikkhus left the Order and returned to the world or joined the Tittthiyas. If they wished to join the Sangha again by no means were they prevented from doing so.

¹Mrs Rhys Davids, *Points of controversy*, pp 318-20

²Pacittiya 82, *Vinaya Texts*, Pt I, p 52

³*Vinaya*, IV, p 242 Pacittiya, 59

⁴Pacittiya, 25

⁵Pacittiya 81, *Vinaya Texts*, Pt I, p 52

CHAPTER IX.

WOMAN UNDER THE VINAYA

Bhikkhunis in the Therīgāthā The Indian woman as portrayed in Pali is an interesting figure the like of which we rarely come across in the Brahmanic literature. As a wife she is less idealistic than her Brahmanic counterpart, though perfectly natural and human. In religion she is more zealous and has attained remarkable individuality which demarcates her from the rest of her sisters. The *Therīgāthā* and *Apadāna*, reveal to us the minds of the distinguished Bhikkhunis, mostly in an exultant mood. All of them seem to be glad to have escaped from the drudgery of household life as well as hardships¹ and misery caused owing to attachment and harp upon the freedom they actually enjoy in the Sangha². They are no longer affected by bereavements which formerly tortured them, or sorrows that haunted them. They lead an intellectual and pure life and all their doubts are solved³. The services rendered by women to the Sangha, from time to time are unquestionably valuable. Gotamī Pajapati was known for piety and sincerity. Pativara is said to have converted five hundred women⁴, which Mrs. Rhy Davids takes to be a foolish impossibility. It does not however, seem an absurd or fabricated account.

¹It was a *Pacittiya* to do household work or kitchen-job, Vinaya IV, pp 300-1 *Cullavagga* X, 10, 4

²*Therī Apadāna*, pp 521, 522, 524, 525, etc

³*Therīgāthā* pp 136, 138, 139, etc

⁴*Ibid* p 136

as Mrs Rhys Davids thinks Judging the capacity of Patacara her zeal and enthusiasm for truth and religion and her renown as a successful preacher not only among women but among men also the conversion of five hundred women does not seem to be beyond her calibre She was one of the best Vinayadharias of the Sangha So also the wise Khemā Uppalavanna the possessor of Iddhi and an ideal Bhikkhuni Dhamnadinna the expert preacher Nanda the contemplator and the ready witted Kundalakesa¹ were some of the renowned Bhikkhunis who shone not only in the Sangha alone but also in the world outside A Therī by name of Sukka preached near Rajagaha and got a robe as a present² So also Khemā was interviewed by king Pasenadi³

Bhikkhunis in the Vinaya In the records of the Vinaya however the woman recedes far in the background The glory attached to her in passage of the Therīgathā and some of the Nikayas falls to the ground and she stands before us neglected and subdued

Inferior Position of the Bhikkhunis After repeated refusals and with great reluctance Gotama allowed women to enter the Sangha and lead religious life as men did But admission was granted to women only on the acknowledgement of their inferiority The eight Garudhammas or principal vows prior to admission make a Bhikkhuni in every way subordinate to a Bhikkhu The first and the most important rule is that a Bhikkhuni

¹ Anguttara-Nikaya, I pp 25

² Samyutta-Nikaya pp 212 213

³ Ibid pp 374 380

even if of a hundred years standing should make salutation to, should rise up in presence of should bow down before and should perform all proper duties towards a Bhikkhu if only just initiated¹. The rest of the rules are mere corollaries of this. The Garudhammas were imposed upon women when Gotamī Pajapati (the pioneer Bhikkhuni) sought admission in the Sangha. Gotamī accepted all these conditions as willingly as a wreath of jasmine flowers, but soon she realized how difficult it was for a woman in her position, the queen and mother of the Sakyas to bring herself so low in presence of young boys, mere ordinary men, only on account of their yellow robes. She entreated the Buddha to change the rule but the Buddha was relentless and firm². The rule once established was to be obeyed for ever.

The rules which make Bhikkhunis subordinate to the Bhikkhus without exception, can be divided into two categories viz (a) rules which regulate the conduct of the Bhikkhunis with the Bhikkhus and (b) rules pertaining to legal matters. The first category comprises the eight Garudhammas and several other minor rules out of which the following are the most significant —

a) 1) A Bhikkhuni by no means could admonish or talk ill of a Bhikkhu, either officially or in private, though a Bhikkhu could do so³. In this connection an interesting episode is recorded in the Bhikkhuni-Vibhanga. A certain Bhikkhu, named Kappalika destroyed a monument which

¹ *Cullaragga*, X, 1, 4

² *Ibid*, X, 3, 1

³ *Vinaya*, IV, p 13, *Cullaragga*, X, 17, 8

some Bhikkhus had erected over the grave of a Bhikkhu whom they respected and loved. Naturally Kappalika's rude behaviour roused their temper. They resolved to punish the culprit by beating him unawares in a lonely spot and they kept a watch over his movements. Before they got an opportunity to shower blows upon him they saw Bhikkhu Upali and spoke to him about the mischief Kappalika had played and the punishment they were going to award him for it. Upali though a senior Bhikkhu never admonished Kappalika for committing a grave offence like breaking a tomb nor asked the Bhikkhus to give up the idea of revenge by giving them an assurance of procuring an apology from the guilty Bhikkhu and thus restore good will between the two parties. On the other hand he went and told Kappalika about the resolve of the Bhikkhus and told him to remain on his guard. Thus Kappalika saved himself. Later on when the Bhikkhus came to know how Upali had failed to redress the wrong Kappalika had done to them and how he betrayed their confidence to Kappalika they reviled him. And consequently an express rule came to be formulated that a Bhikkhu on no account should abuse a Bhikkhu.¹ Kappalika however was never taken to task by the Sangha or any responsible Bhikkhu for the wrong he did.

(2) A Bhikkhu should not take seat in the presence of a Bhikkhu without asking his permission²

(3) A Bhikkhu should not ask any question to a Bhikkhu without obtaining his permission³

¹ Vinaya IV, pp 308-9

² Ibid IV, pp 343-44

³ Cullavagga V, 7, 19, 3

(4) The Bhikkhunis had to do some menial services towards the Bhikkhus such as sweeping their park¹ and they were rebuked if they failed to do it

(b) From the point of the Vinaya however the rules which subjugate Bhikkhunis to the legal authority of the Bhikkhu-Sangha are more important. Women were entirely tools in the hand of men in this respect. The Bhikkhus framed the laws for the Bhikkhunis, they conducted the trials of the Bhikkhunis, they admonished the guilty Bhikkhunis and declared the verdict also. The only part women took in trials was that they held a preliminary trial in the Bhikkhuni-Sangha and then a competent Bhikkhuni appointed to proclaim the offence of guilty Bhikkhuni made the assembly (which comprised the two Sanghas) acquainted with the offence and then the Bhikkhus conducted the trial and declared the verdict which was irrevocable. The Bhikkhunis only had to see after this that punishment was actually inflicted upon the guilty Bhikkhuni. Thus even the best qualified among women also were reduced to the state of mere legal supervisors. They were not authorised to handle any matter of legal importance independently.

As far as penalty for an offence was concerned, women were submitted to stricter rules than men. Buddhaghosa says that if a Bhikkhu and a Bhikkhuni were charged of having immoral connections with each other, the man was to undergo Sanghadisesa penalty, while the woman was liable to *Parajika*. Similarly, if a nun was charged of *Thullaccaya*, the monk was punished for *Dukkata* only².

¹ *Vinaya* IV, pp 306-308

² *Samantapasadika* IV, p 902

Thus the attitude of the Buddha as well as his Bhikkhus towards women in the Sangha as revealed by the records of the Vinaya appears to be unsympathetic and uninterested

The Laws for Bhikkhunis The laws for Bhikkhunis are of a later origin than most of the laws for men as the establishment of the Bhikkhuni-Sangha took place five years later than the Bhikkhu-Sangha. Most of these laws were perhaps formulated in the first three years of the life of the Bhikkhuni-Sangha when the institution was crowded and very popular. Its popularity reached its zenith when Khema, the queen of Bimbisara and other princesses took to the life of renunciation. This was two years after the Bhikkhuni-Sangha was established¹. At this time the need of creating new laws was most urgent, because owing to the increase of the number of inmates, there was greater probability of lapses and so, laws for Bhikkhunis came into existence under the same conditions as that in the case of men.

The laws for the Bhikkhunis occupy a small portion of the Vinaya-Pitaka, perhaps less than one third. The Bhikkhuni-Vibhanga, the tenth book of the Cullavagga and some portion of the Parivara are exclusively devoted to this subject. The laws given in the Cullavagga are no doubt important but their scope is very limited. For our study we have to concentrate more on the Vibhanga which deals with offences exclusively. An enquiry into the nature of these offences and the laws bearing on them are most vital for our purpose.

¹ Dutt, *Spread of Buddhism*, p. 193.

The Bhikkhuni-Vibhanga The whole of the Bhikkhuni-Vibhanga looks like a patch-work rather than a homogeneous whole. This seems to be a work done in hurry and signs of carelessness are obvious. It also lacks the polish and legal definiteness in many places and so, it is not possible to analyse the contents on strictly legal basis, unless we compare each and every category with its counterpart in the Bhikkhu-Vibhanga.

The Bhikkhuni-Patimokkha devotes more attention to the rules regarding ordination¹, rain-retreat², bathing³, dress⁴ etc., which are rules of secondary legal importance and drops out many important rules regarding theft, property, murder etc. which have been so clearly defined in the Bhikkhu-Vibhanga. It becomes quite apparent on the perusal of the Bhikkhuni-Vibhanga that what struck the Buddhist law-givers most about women was their sensuality, their dressy habits, quarrelsome nature and lack of discipline on the whole. Thus many of the offences recorded in this code are of a petty nature though the penalty is more severe than that in the Bhikkhu-Vibhanga.

Thus for these four reasons viz (1) the imitation of the Bhikkhu-Vibhanga in its outer appearance viz the division of subjects, the titles and the conditions which led to the formation of rules etc. (2) the omission of rules of primary legal importance, (3) the incorporation of rules

¹ Vinaya, IV, pp 317-38

² Ibid, IV, pp 313-4

³ Ibid, IV, pp 341-3

⁴ Ibid, IV, pp 303-4, 339-40 etc

are not strictly legal and (4) the legal authority to frame which or modify the rules being vested in men, the Bhikkhuni-Patimokkha should rather be looked upon as a supplement or even an appendage to the Bhikkhu Vibhanga rather than an independent code as it claims to be. The only justification for this claim is that there were certain factors which were applicable to women exclusively, and hence there was a pressing need to frame laws which would suit the needs of Bhikkhunis as women. Most of the hygienic rules forbidding household work or weaving etc to women came under this category. It is also likely that the Bhikkhus, the superiority of whose sex was universally recognised would not be willing to apply the same laws to women (even with a few special rules like the Garudhammas added to them) to which they were submitted. In fact it was an offence to recite Patimokkha before a Bhikkhuni¹. Thus from the beginning a conscious attempt has been made to put the woman out from interfering with the laws of men as was exactly the case in the outer world. So, it was inevitable for the Bhikkhunis to have a separate code in spite of many handicaps. However, owing to the unsympathetic attitude of the Bhikkhu Sangha and there being very little legal authority vested in women, the whole code remains unpolished, abrupt and inadequate. Neither the Vinaya law givers nor the later commentators seem enthusiastic in describing or discussing these laws.

An examination of the laws The Bhikkhuni-Patimokkha comprises (1) four Parajika laws, (2) ten Sanghadisesa laws (against thirteen in the Bhikkhu-

¹Mahatagga, II, 36, 1.

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² *Ibid*, IV, pp 313-4

³ *Ibid*, IV, pp 341-3

⁴ *Ibid*, IV, pp 303-4, 339-40 etc

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¹ *Mahavagga*, II, 36, 1.

Patimokkha) (3) twelve Nissaggiya laws (against thirty in the Bhikkhu Patimokkha) (4) Ninety six Pacittiya laws (against ninety two in the Bhikkhu Patimokkha) (5) Eight Patidesaniya laws (against four in the Bhikkhu Patimokkha) and (6) Seventy five Sekhiya rules. Thus the number of principal laws is nearly the same as in the Bhikkhu Patimokkha. The number of bye laws and corollaries following them however is much smaller than in the first since the number of Thullaccaya and Dukkata rules is much less in this section than in the first. This is perhaps due to the different nature of the principal offences viz Parajika and Sanghadisesa since the penalty for an offence is much graver in the case of women than in that of men and also to the carelessness of the male law givers in preserving all legal details.

Parajika Out of the four Parajikas the first two and the last are sexual offences. The third viz forbidding a Bhikkhuni following a Bhikkhu who has been excommunicated by the Sangha (that is to follow his view taste imitate his behaviour etc)¹ seems rather ambiguous and we cannot ascertain whether to class it with sexual or religious or legal offences. However it is obvious from the laws that they correspond with the Sanghadisesa offence of the Bhikkhus rather than Parajika.

Sanghadisesa The Sanghadisesa laws also are heterogeneous like those in the Bhikkhu Patimokkha consist mainly of quarrelling with a householder or Bhikkhunis to lead an unrestrained life to shield a guilty Bhikkhuni to go alone to another village or to cross a river alone or travel during night etc

¹ Vinaya IV, 218-20

Nissaggiya The Nissaggiyas deal mostly with the possession of an extra bowl or robe procured out of season

Pācittiya Pacittiya consists of offences regarding sexuality, lack of hygienic habits, unlawful ordination of novices etc

Patidesaniya This class of offences is not very important from legal point of view, since it consists of rules prohibiting Bhikkhunis to order medicaments such as oil, mustard etc, when they were not ill

The Sekkhiyas are exactly like those in the Bhikkhu-Patimokkha, save two offences, which draw our attention to the dirty habits of some of the Bhikkhunis who rendered the water of the public wells etc, dirty by passing urine in it, or throwing other filthy substances in it¹

An analysis of the laws An attempt has been made here to analyse the offences on which the laws which are suited to the needs of women are based.

(1) Sexual offences

Heterosexual

Pārājika

1) To allow a man under the sway of passion to touch or embrace the portion of body below waist and above the knees²

2) To allow a man to touch her hand, ear etc. or loin cloth³

¹ Vinaya, IV, p 349

² Ibid, IV, pp 213-14

³ Ibid, IV, pp 220-1.

Sanghadisssa

1) To receive edibles with a lustful mind from a Bhikkhu with the same frame of mind and eat them (or to encourage another Bhikkhu to receive such things from the hand of a Bhikkhu)¹

Phullaccaya

1) To allow a man to embrace her with clothes on²

2) To allow a man to touch her above the waist and below the knee³

3) To embrace a Yakkha or a dead body or an eunuch so that the lower portion of the body viz below navel and above the knees comes in contact with it⁴

4) To receive edibles from the hands of a Bhikkhu but not eating them⁵

Pacittiya

1) To wait upon a Bhikkhu with a lustful mind while he is eating his meals⁶

2) To sit near a man or chat alone with him in the dark of the night⁷

3) To sit in a lonely place alone with a man⁸

¹ Vinaya IV, pp 232-14, 234-35

² Ibid, IV, p 214

³ Ibid IV, p 214

⁴ Ibid, IV, p 215

⁵ Ibid, IV, p 233

⁶ Ibid, IV, p 263

⁷ Ibid, IV, pp 268-9

⁸ Ibid, IV, pp 269-70

4) To keep on chatting with a man alone in the streets and to whisper in his ear etc¹

Homosexuality

Pācittiya

1) To masturbate each other (viz by means of beating the private parts with something like the lotus leaf (Uppala-patta²)

2) To sleep with another Bhikkhuni in one bed³

3) To sleep with another Bhikkhuni under one covering⁴

Self-abuse

Pācittiya

1) Masturbation by using an instrument called 'Jatumatthaka' or a lotus leaf⁵.

2) On the pretext of having a vaginal wash during menstruation to drive the palm of hand deep inside⁶.

3) To remove the pubic hair⁷

Offences against law

1) *Parajika* Not to admonish a Bhikkhuni or inform the Sangha about it even after knowing that the Bhikkhuni had committed a sexual offence⁸

¹*Vinaya*, IV, p 270

²*Ibid*, pp 260-1.

³*Ibid*, pp 288-9.

⁴*Ibid*, pp 289-90

⁵*Ibid*, p 261

⁶*Ibid*, pp 262-3

⁷*Ibid*, pp 259-60.

⁸*Ibid*, pp 216-7.

2) *Sanghadisesa* (a) To admit into the Sangha a woman a thief knowingly thus defying the king and the Sangha¹ (b) To restore a guilty Bhikkhuni (who is undergoing punishment) to her former position by holding a partial meeting of the Sangha²

There is besides another class of rules which have little legal bearing, but are all the same valuable for their practical utility. These rules explain how the Sangha took care to protect the Bhikkhunis, from certain dangers or mishaps to which they were exposed as women. All such rules distinctly differ both in spirit and form from those framed for men and the Bhikkhuni-Patimokkha would not have been less important even if it comprised these laws entirely. Because it is through such laws we come to know the real condition of the women in the Sangha, their needs, as well as their chief drawbacks. But unfortunately, such laws which genuinely guard the woman's interest are not only few but also not comprehensive enough. So, even after a detailed study of them we get only a partial knowledge about how the women actually fared in the Sangha.

The most important of such laws are —

1) Laws framed in order to meet physical needs of women. Women differ physically from men and so their needs are of different nature. Special rules³ based on hygienic principles were therefore of paramount importance

¹ Vinaya, IV, pp 225-7

² Ibid pp 230-2

³ Ibid, pp 262-3, 303-4

2) Laws modifying the habits of women by prohibiting them to take to their former avocation such as household work etc.

3) Laws guarding women from falling a prey to the sensuality of the outside world viz (a) The women were only to keep the first three Nissayas Living under a tree was forbidden by law¹ The violation of a Bhikkhuni by men of loose character first gave rise to this resolution (b) They were forbidden to bathe nt the baths where men² and courtesans³ used to bathe

4) Not to tickle the public gaze they were forbidden to bathe naked⁴ and their dress was required to be modest and decent⁵ It is however to be borne in mind that these women were after all wanderers, they used to wander in little groups The Sangha had discretely carried out resolutions that a Bhikkhuni should on no account (a) go alone to a village or cross a ferry alone or travel alone during night or to go out of the group and travel alone⁶, or (b) travel on roads that were dangerous⁷

Ordination Admission to the Sangha was open to all women irrespective of caste or social position However, admission is more restricted in the Bhikkhuni-Sangha as the list of disqualifications is larger than in the

¹*Cullavagga*, X, 23

²*Ibid*, X, 27, 4

³*Vinaya*, IV, p 278

⁴*Ibid*

⁵*Ibid*, pp 339-40

⁶*Ibid*, pp 227-30

⁷*Ibid*, pp 295-6

case of the Bhikkhus To the already existing disqualifications viz sickness, insanity criminality etc, were added (1) pregnancy¹ (2) lactation² and (3) not obtaining the husband's permission or father's consent to join the order³ The first two prohibitions were rigorously observed and are absolutely justifiable since they deal with the obligations of motherhood The first and the most sacred duty of an expectant or nursing mother is to look after the welfare of the baby she brings into the world and which is so helplessly dependent upon her for even the slightest physical needs Besides a woman who has to mind a baby has little leisure to attend to other duties She also requires a more comfortable and settled life and thus the wandering life in the Sangha would do harm both to her and to the child Besides child-bearing being intimately associated with sexual life, through fear of unwarranted rumours, pregnant women and nursing mothers were particularly debarred from entering the Sangha In case it happened that a woman was already ordained without knowing she was pregnant, she was allowed to keep the child with her till it reached years of discretion⁴ The consent of either the parents or the husband, though a woman was matured in years was also obligatory in accordance with the social position of woman A widow or destitute however, were allowed to enter the Sangha on her own will as Kisāgotamī and several other Bhikkhunis of advanced age did

¹ Vinaya, IV, p 317

² Ibid, IV, p 318

³ Ibid, IV, pp 334-5

⁴ Cullavagga, X, 25, 2

The way of admission is the same as in the case of men. Even the questions put to candidates as regards qualifications, age etc., are similar. The name of the instructor was also asked, but the instructor is called Pavattim (proposer) instead of Upajjhaya¹.

The Cullavagga tells us that at first the monks used to ordain nuns, but since they found it difficult and awkward to get all necessary information from the women themselves, women were ordained in their own Sangha by women only. A woman however could not get re-admission in the Sangha once she left it².

A Bhikkhuni had not to undergo a period of probation like the Bhikkhus. Two years after the Pabbajja a Bhikkhuni would be initiated with all formality³. In the case of Mahapajapati ordination was totally dispensed with, her accepting the Garudhammas was ordination for her. The courtesan Addhakasi was ordained by sending a messenger to her⁴. These however are exceptional cases.

The daily routine It was a little before noon that the meals were over. In the noon time, the nuns were expected to seek a shady nook suitable for meditation, just as men did. As far as meditation was concerned the Bhikkhunis were not backward of the Bhikkhus. According to the report of the Therigatha nearly all the Bhikkhunis, had overcome, Mara, the Evil One, by acquiring the knowledge of reality through meditation.

¹ Cullavagga, V, 17.

² Ibid, V, 26, 1.

³ Vinaya, pp 333, 336-7.

⁴ Cullavagga, V, 22, 1.

The Gāthas however being mostly the praise-songs of the pious Buddhists an extreme religious fervour and poetic imagination are here mingled together, legendary spirit is predominant and sometimes it even hides the historical aspect of the stories from us. The Nikayas though equally interesting for retaining the legendary element, are more precise and realistic. The Samyutta-Nikaya gives a vivid account of how Mara tried to tempt and baffle the Ālaviya Bhikkhunis and Soma, Gotamī, Vijaya, Uppalavanna, Cala, Upacala, Sisupacalā, Sela, Vajra, Kisagotamī etc., and how they succeeded in getting better of him¹

The greater portion of the day was occupied in training the novices². The senior members of the Sangha occupied themselves with the task of teaching the Dhamma and the Vinaya to the youngsters and newcomers. To look after the welfare and the spiritual progress of the pupil was no joke. The pupil also had to do little services to the teacher and besides do her studies. The commentary on the Therīgāthā gives us the name of an ideal pupil and a ready servant known as Vijaya³. The order of seniority was well kept in the Bhikkhuni-Sangha also. The seniority was conferred on a Bhikkhuni not only according to the number of years she spent in the Sangha but also according to her spiritual advancement. In the dining hall the first eight places were to be kept reserved for the senior-most almswomen and the rest seats were

¹*Samyutta-Nikaya*, I, pp 128-33

²*Cullavagga*, X, 8, 1

³*Therīgāthā*, pp 139-40

to be occupied by sisters as they happened to come in¹ The senior woman was called a Therī. A woman could even be an Arhat but the privilege of attaining Buddhahood was barred to her unless she be born as a man² Among the few motherly and revered senior nuns the name of Vaddhamatā stands foremost³

Excepting the hours of meditation in solitude we hardly know how the women in the Sangha spent the later hours of the day and the early ones of the night The Buddhist canon and the commentaries are silent about it It may not be wrong to conjecture that the women being wanderers spent some hours daily in walking the distance from one place to the other The sweeping of the parks for the Bhikkhus was also their occasional duty Thus was the daily monotonous and changeless life in the Sangha regulated by the Vinaya-rules for women

b) There seems to be a short pause in the conventional monotony of the life in the Sangha by occasional excitement like the Patimokkha and the Ovada performances. These days were of greatest excitement and hustle in the Bhikkhuni-Sangha On these days new offences came to light new rules were established and the discourse from a worthy and learned Bhikkhu gladdened the heart of the Bhikkhunis

Dealing with the offences committed by various Bhikkhunis and to conduct the preliminary trials also formed a part of the duties of the Bhikkhunis After the

¹*Cullavagga*, X, 18, 1

²*Ibid* X, 1 3 and 4, Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, p 8

³Mrs Rhys Davids, *Gotama the Man*, p 147.

offence of a nun was detected her formal confession was obtained in the Bhikkhum-Sangha where a trial was taken, with all formalities as in the case of the trials of the Bhikkhus

Uposatha The Uposatha ceremony however made no cardinal distinction between men and women. Both had to confess their faults and had to undergo the same kind of punishment. Moreover, this ceremony was held together by both the Sanghas. When the case of a nun came forward it was judged according to the code of the Bhikkhuni-Patimokkha. The day of the Uposatha, either the 14th or the 15th day of the month, was to be fixed by a Bhikkhu alone. The Bhikkhunis had to ask two or three days beforehand on what day it would be¹

Recitation of the Patimokkha as we have already noticed, was the soul of the Uposatha meeting. In the case of women also, it was obligatory, and through force of circumstances they could manage to recite it independently, free from the supervision of men. Long after the Bhikkhunis attended the Uposatha meetings it was found out that they were not taught to recite the sacred Patimokkha². Gotama appointed monks to coach them in this matter, but this custom was to be stopped perhaps as soon as it began. The sharp tongues of the people spread scandalous reports about the visits of the male teachers to the quarters of women and the learning and teaching of the Patimokkha remained solely in the hands of women. There was also a law to the effect that

¹Vinaya, IV, p. 315

²Cullavagga, X, 6. 2

a Bhikkhu who recited the Patimokkha in a seated assembly before a Bhikkhuni committed a Dukkata offence¹

Ovāda But the supervision of the Bhikkhuni-Sangha by the Bhikkhu-Sangha was not in the least relaxed by handing over the management of the Patimokkha to women themselves. The custom of exhortation or Ovāda took its place. Like the Patimokkha the Ovāda also took place every fortnight and the day was to be declared to the women a couple of days before²

The exhortation was delivered by a competent Bhikkhu advanced in knowledge and years possessed of the eight qualities with good manners and upright character, and a blameless reputation with a standing of at least twenty years in the Sangha³, to the nuns who were commonly more illiterate than the monks. He was to be deputed by the Bhikkhu-Sangha⁴. These rules were an outcome of the irresponsible behaviour of the Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus who went to give exhortation to women at odd times, and talked any nonsensical and scandalous things as would not befit the yellow robes⁵. Exhortation was aimed to be a purely religious discourse, which would show the

¹ *Mahavagga*, II, 36, 1

² *Vinaya*, IV, p 315, Bhikkhuni-Pacittiya 59, Pacittiya, 21

³ *Ibid*, IV, p 51 *Cullavagga* X, 9, 4, and 5. Says that all Bhikkhus (except the stupid journeying and sick) could exhort the almswomen but since various difficulties arose from this, these rules were revised

⁴ *Ibid*, IV, p 60

⁵ *Ibid*, IV, p 314, IV, p 50 and 51

way of enlightenment to the erring souls, who struggled hard to find a way to the higher goal. Of all the Theras, Nandaka was the most successful in exhorting women¹

The third Garudhamma compels the Bhikkhus to go and request the Bhikkhu what time he would find suitable to come and give exhortation to them. This rule should have been rectified when later on it was enjoined in the Sutta-vibhanga that the Bhikkhus were forbidden to go to the apartments of the Bhikkhunis², but on account of the carelessness and hurry on the part of the compilers the rule remains as it is. Though the naughty behaviour of the six irresponsible Bhikkhus the rule was laid down to the effect that the Bhikkhunis must always go to the Bhikkhus to receive exhortation and all together³

Since it was impossible to exhort all the members of the Bhikkhuni-Sangha together they were expected to go in batches to their respective preacher, each batch consisting of four to five Bhikkhunis⁴

Exhortation took place at any hour in broad day light. Originally, the time and duration of exhortation rested on the discretion of the preacher, but since unwise Bhikkhus either knowingly or unknowingly delivered the lectures at odd and inconvenient times the Sangha had to exert its pressure on both the teachers and the taught

¹ *Majjhima-Nikaya*, III, p. 270

² *Vinaya*, IV, p. 55 *Vinaya*, IV, p. 314

³ *Cullavagga*, X, 9, 4. An exception to this rule occurs in *Vinaya* IV, p. 56, when Gotama himself went to see and exhort Gotami when she was ill

⁴ *Jh₂d*, X, 9, 4

and forbid any sort of religious instructions after sunset¹, the transgression of the rule involved a Pacittiya offence. All the difficulties about the Ovada rise from the peculiar situation of the Bhikkhus being appointed as the religious instructors to the Bhikkhunis. The cases of abuse are as frequent and as natural as in the case of the recital of the Patimokkha was at first. But the rules about the Ovada remain unaltered to the end, excepting a few details. And it is rather a strange occurrence in the formation of the Vinaya rules for women. The abuses imputed by the general public have seldom failed to carry some effect on the prevailing customs of the Sangha. Nearly every second rule in the Vinaya code bears a testimony to this fact, and that is why it is a marvel that in spite of the people's murmuring and expressing doubts about the exhortation of the women by men Gotama allowed the system to be continued, making little changes here and there. Two reasons for the continuation of this practice can be put forward. The one is the characteristic indifference of Gotama and the Sangha for the Bhikkhuni-Sangha, and the other is, that probably there were a number of really capable and virtuous teachers in the Bhikkhu-Sangha, who by their pure and blameless conduct were always held in high estimation by the people.

Vassa The period of the Vassa is most important in estimating the life in the Sangha. At this time the

¹Vinaya, IV, p. 54. This rule is the outcome of an interesting episode. The almswomen returned to the city early in the morning when the Bhikkhu Gulaputtaka kept on exhorting them in the night hours. This gave rise to scandals.

sisters of different temperaments came together and thus being a sort of settled period they could also carry out religious propaganda by preaching more easily. The rest of the eight months were full of toil. Most of the time of the Bhikkhunis was taken up by journeying from one place to another. The roads were few and not well built, the towns were far between forests were abundant and the weather almost extreme. The fatigue of the journey was not the less felt by the Bhikkhunis the majority of whom were not used to a rough life like this, besides they had to travel on foot, as the Bhikkhus did. When they were ill and unable to walk, then only they could journey in bullock carts or sedan chairs¹. In the ordinary course they were absolutely forbidden to ride or drive in any kind of vehicle². One can imagine the plight of those women walking on the rough uneven roads, without even footwear to protect them³. The Vassa thus offered them rest and shelter and gave them an opportunity for constructive work, spiritual edification, and left them to enjoy the blessings as well as curses of companionship.

The Vassa was to be kept in a place in the vicinity of the Bhikkhus. Living alone and independently was forbidden to women⁴, by doing so there would be a break in their attending to the Uposatha, Ovada and Pavarana ceremonies. The violation of the rule caused a Pacittiya offence⁵.

¹ *Cullavagga*, X, 21.

² *Vinaya*, IV, pp 308-339, Bhikkhuni-Pacittiya 85.

³ *Ibid*, IV, p 333.

⁴ *Cullavagga*, X, 1, 2.

⁵ *Vinaya*, IV, p 313, Bhikkhuni-Pacittiya 56.

No change of residence during the Vassa was allowed except under obligatory circumstances. After the fulfilment of the term of the Vassa however, the Pavarana must be held within a week¹. The latter half of the rule came to be enforced when some of the Bhikkhunis kept the Vassa even in the hot and cold seasons.

Pavāranā As the natural end of the Vassa came the Pavarana, when there would be a strict inquiry of what had been seen, and what had been heard and what had been suspected², before both the Sanghas. In the Vassa the number of Bhikkhunis swelled in the Āvāsa and the grades of the Bhikkhunis varying from one another there were constant misunderstandings, bickerings, spying and snubbing going on. While on tours, the temperamental and other defects of the nuns could not be noticed, but in the Vassa in the close contact with other women, the faults would not remain unnoticed and unquestioned. All these grievances, complaints, errors and mishaps were recorded in the Sangha, until they were publicly scanned and treated accordingly by both the Sanghas. In the beginning the questions were taken directly before the Bhikkhu-Sangha but the detailed inquiry into each and every case consumed much of the time of the Bhikkhu-Sangha, it was therefore, advised that the Pavarana of the Bhikkhunis should be carried out separately on the previous day and then the cases should be brought before the Bhikkhu-Sangha for the final inquiry and judgment³.

¹ Vinaya, IV, p. 297.

² Cullavagga, X, 1, 4.

³ Ibid, X, 19, 1.

The Pavarana like exhortation was to take place in the Bhikkhu-Sangha¹ only and in the afternoon after the meals were over². The Vassa being a most eventful period in the life of the Sangha each Bhikkhuni had lots of things to confess for herself and to make suggestions about the doings of others. This thing again got on the nerves of the Bhikkhus who proposed the rule that a competent, wise and elderly Bhikkhuni should be deputed to make the Pavarana invitation on behalf of the Bhikkhuni-Sangha, before the Bhikkhu-Sangha³. The Bhikkhuni, unanimously elected by the Bhikkhuni-Sangha, had to arrange her robe on one shoulder and followed by the sisters, and enter the Bhikkhu-Sangha. She had to bow down to the Bhikkhus respectfully and request them to attend the Pavarana out of compassion towards them (women)⁴.

Kathina The Kathina or the distribution of clothes was also an important item in the Vassa. The clothes were of plain cotton simple, rough and clean. As in the case of the Bhikkhus the distribution took place once a year. The Sangha used to store up the clothings and when time came each Bhikkhuni was equipped with the yellow uniform of three robes. These robes however when they came into the possession of a Bhikkhuni, were completely her property, and on her death it was either left to the Sangha or to an individual as she wished.

¹ *Cullavagga*,

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*, \ 19, 2

⁴ *Ibid*

The apparel was to be the simplest of its kind, without any fringes and plaits¹, unlike those of the 'Women of the world' They were not to be dyed with any other shade but dark yellow², no decorations were allowed Even the manner of putting on the dress should not be attractive and graceful³ The most unwomanlike simplicity was aimed at and insisted upon in the Buddhist Sangha for the Bhikkhunis Thullananda Bhikkhuni was charged with Pacittiya for accepting and wearing rich costumes given by king Pasenadi⁴

The dress and the way of putting it was just the same as in the case of the Bhikkhus The women however, had an extra privilege of wearing a bodice (Sankaccika), at least when they went out, they had to put it on⁵, and a girdle⁶, they were even provided with bathing costumes⁷ on the request of Visakha to provide the Sangha with various requisites Sometimes they were also allowed to wrap a broad cloak round their person which was known

¹ *Cullavagga*, X, 10, 1

² *Ibid*, X, 10, 4

³ *Ibid*, X, 10

⁴ *Vinaya*, IV, pp. 254-56.

⁵ This rule was made as a safeguard A Bhikkhuni once went on her begging excursion without putting on any bodice at all The wind was strong and it caught her cloak and blew it over her head Men saw this and said 'Beautiful is the waist of this lady' The remark upset her, and to avoid further incidents like this the rule was made. *Vinaya*, IV, p 345

⁶ *Cullavagga*, X, 10, 1.

⁷ *Vinaya*, IV, pp 278-279 (Bhikkhuni-Pacittiya 32)

as *Thavana pavamana*¹ Thus the number of robes occasionally came to be four this perhaps was the influence of the Jain nuns who used to wear four clothes, (one two cubits broad two three cubits broad one four cubits broad)*

Another insignificant difference between the dress of the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhunis is that the Bhikkhunis were forbidden to wear a loin cloth², (which was allowed however by Cullavagga X, 16 2)

The clothes of the nuns (as well as the monks) were provided by the laity, these again could be given as a gift to the whole Sangha a few Bhikkhunis or to a single one. An Upasaka who was building a Vihara for Bhikkhunis is said to have given them clothes³. The king Pasenadi also gave rich apparel to Thullananda.

The Kathina took place at a proper time once a year. Thullananda once distributed clothes at an improper time and was therefore charged with the Pacittiya offence⁴. Thullananda it seems was very greedy after getting robes. It was she who got robes from king Pasenadi. On her lapse the Bhikkhunis were warned not to raise hopes where there was a weak expectation of getting them⁵.

¹ Vinaya, IV, p 289

² Jacobi, *Jain Sutras*, (S. B. E.) II, 5, 1

³ Vinaya IV, p 339-40

⁴ Ibid, IV, p 287.

⁵ Ibid, IV, pp 245-6.

⁶ Ibid, IV, p 286.

Excepting these few cases which can be included in Kathina, the Vinaya for Bhikkhunis does not prescribe any rules as to the making of the robes etc. The silence perhaps suggests the imitation of the Kathina of the Bhikkhu-Sangha. The Vinaya rules for women have suffered much from silence, abruptness and incompleteness.

Property The property of the Bhikkhunis also consisted of the chief eight articles, the three robes, the needle, the water strainer, the water-bag, the bowl etc. Simple and frugal as this property was, the sense of possession was no less keen in the Bhikkhunis than in other women. They used to preserve them with the utmost care and would not suffer any one else so much as to touch them. The Sanghadisesa for the Bhikkhunis presents to us a very comic scene where the nuns are seen showering darting words at one another for mixing up or taking another's robes without permission. 'What is yours is yours, what is mine is mine and you shall not be allowed to use my robes' says one Bhikkhuni to another¹.

A Bhikkhuni could give away robes to her parents temporarily if she chose², but she could not give them to any one who lived in a home to male and female wanderers, as Thullananda gave her clothes to dancers, acrobats etc.

This property they could bestow either on the Sangha or leave to any one else on their death³. The Sangha was bound to fulfil the last wishes of the Bhikkhuni.

¹ Vinaya, IV, p. 247

² Cullavagga, V, 11, 1

³ Vinaya, IV, p. 243

The accumulation of unnecessary clothes however was forbidden by law¹ Bathing-dresses were allowed to the almswomen and most probably, they were the property of the Sangha since Visakha Migamamata made a present of them to the Sangha²

The Bhikkhunis were allowed shoes etc., only if they were sick³ and they were not reckoned as their personal property but as the belongings of the Sangha The furniture, (chairs etc.) and the beddings⁴ also were primarily the property of the Sangha alone

General culture As for the state of general culture, it must be admitted that on an average, the Bhikkhunis stood on a lower level than the Bhikkhus Up till now they were denied all facilities of dealing openly and independently with the world And being shut up in the fences of the home their adaptability also rusted owing to disuse The cases of quarrels and bickering therefore are more frequent in the Bhikkhuni-Sangha than in the Bhikkhu Sangha Candakali was a great fighter among them⁵ Sundarimanda also added consciously to the mischief in the Sangha⁶

¹ Vinaya, IV, p 285

² Mahavagga, VIII, 15, 2

³ Vinaya, IV, p 313

⁴ Ibid, IV, p 288

⁵ Ibid, IV, pp 230, 276, 277, 209 etc (Parajika 5, 6 for Bhikkhunis)

⁶ Ibid, IV, p 234, IV, p 233

The Buddha gave express orders to the Bhikkhunis not to create schism in the Sangha¹, but Thullananda under Devadatta's influence, broke every rule in the Sangha and split it². Thullananda though an able and learned woman misused her ability in breaking rules and slandering others. She took a special delight in slandering Sariputta, Moggallana, Mahakaccana etc. Thullatissā also scoffed at Mahakassapa's teaching in the presence of Ānanda and finally renounced the Sangha together with Thullananda³. The Bhikkhuni Metteya also joined hands with monks who were followers of Metteya and Bhumajjaka to complain against Dabba to the Buddha, and get him expelled⁴.

One is surprised to see the ghastly grinnings of the green eyed monster of jealousy, causing great inconvenience to those who kept themselves away from mischief⁵. Owing to misunderstanding⁶ the atmosphere of the Order often became stormy⁷. Nearly half of the Vinaya for the Bhikkhunis is full of the records of these ridiculous and childish quarrels. These things went to such an extent that Gotama had to interfere and control the turbulent spirits of the quarrelsome Bhikkhunis by appointing the

¹S B E XXXV, p 63, N Dutt, *Spread of Buddhism*
Footnote 1, p 220

²Vinaya, IV, p 66 (Pacittiya for Bhikkhunis XXIX)

³Samyutta-Nikaya, II, p 215-17, IV, p 222

⁴Cullavagga, IV, 4, 8

⁵Vinaya, IV, pp 282, 290

⁶Ibid, IV, p 275

⁷Ibid, IV, pp 276-77

Bhikkhu-Sangha to settle the disputes between the Bhikkhus¹, with the result that the Bhikkhus lost the privilege of carrying out any official act themselves, the Bhikkhus first used to declare an official act against individual Bhikkhus and then it was left to the Bhikkhu-Sangha to carry out the instructions by holding a formal meeting. The grip of subjection thus tightened round the Bhikkhu-Sangha every day.

The number of really virtuous Bhikkhus was not wanting in the Sangha as we have already seen. Even Gotama admitted and declared them to be the ideal of the Bhikkhu-Sangha. The Buddha said on one occasion 'The faithful Bhikkhu desires in this wise, 'Let me be as Khema and Uppalavanna'. Judging solely from the broken and half-hazard records of the Vinaya, the number of virtuous women compared to those discontented, half-witted, unbalanced, and unscrupulous souls seems rather scanty. The Vinaya however, being a record of the offences primarily, the statistics found here cannot be fitly applied to other conditions of women in the Sangha, and hence though the records are based on truth they emphasize only one aspect of the life of the Bhikkhus. Just as the Vinaya is the record of their offences, so also the Gathas are the record of their exultation, and hence neither of the two sources depict the real Bhikkhu in her true light, and fail to give us a historical account of her eventful life in the Sangha, because in the Gathas

¹ *Vinaya*, IV, p. 277

² *Ibid.*, IV, p. 277

³ *Anguttara-Nikaya*, II, 164

the standard of life is uncommonly high, while in the Bhikkhuni Vibhanga it is too ordinary

Social service The ideal of the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis being to keep themselves off the society it is out of place to expect them rendering any physical service to the people¹ The woman however, possessed more social sense than the Bhikkhus Getting an easy access into families, they knew the possible difficulties of the people and were eager to render possible assistance whenever necessary This bent of mind however, some times brought them into trouble² and such enterprises were stopped by Gotama by passing resolutions that the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis should not mix with the laity to that extent Nursing etc., also was not included in the Bhikkhunis duty The Bhikkhuni Vaddhamata however, is reported to have healing powers with her and she used to bring relief to patients by touching them³ She had become very popular for this reason, and the law it seems did not interfere in her being useful to people that way Preaching was the only and the most valuable service the Bhikkhunis could offer to the public Bhadda Kundalakesa says that she traversed Anga Magadha, Vajji, Kasi and Kosala giving religious discourses and

¹ *Cullavagga*, X, 13, 1, records the story of a woman who became pregnant while her husband was away She had a premature delivery and requested a Bhikkhuni to take the fetus away The Bhikkhuni carried it in her bowl and was detected and punished

² *Ibid*, X, 10, 4

³ Mrs Rhys Davids, *Gotama The Man*, p 147.

thus lived for fifty years on the 'food of the nation'. Conversion of women also plays an important part in this respect. Homeless destitutes like Candakali would have starved to death if they were not pitied by the Bhikkhunis and taken under the wing of the fraternity.

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INDEX

A

Abhhaṇa, 107.
 Acinna-Kappa, 81
 Ācara, 49
 Ācariya, 133
 Adasalam Nisidanam, 82.
 Addhakāsi, 173
 Adhicitta, 67
 Adhikaranasamathā, 102
 Advipaṇṇa, 67
 Adhusikkha, 42, 67
 Āgantuka Bhikkhus, 116
 Āgneyastakapala, 2
 Ātareya-Āranyaka, 41
 Ātareya-Brahmana, 2
 Ajatasattu, 72
 Ājivakas, 53, 68
 Ālaviya Bhikkhunis, 174
 Amulhavinaya, 102
 Ānanda, 76, 86, 92, 112, 113,
 129, 187
 Anāgāmi, 129
 Anathapiṇḍika, 57
 Angirasa, 45
 Aniyata, 19
 Angula-Kappa, 80
 Anguttara-Nikaya, 67, 118
 Anumati-Kappa, 81
 Anussāvana, 95
 Antaramuttaka day, 68

Antevasika, 51
 Āramika, 70
 Āramikapesaka, 152.
 Āranyakas, 6, 7, 11
 Arhat, 76, 129
 Ārunaketuka-vrata, 7.
 Assaji-Punabbhasaka
 Bhikkhus, 114
 Āsrama, 2, 4, 12, 15, 45
 Ātman, 4, 8, 11
 Atthaka, 45, 52.
 Autoeroticism, 23, 24, 27.
 Authority of the Sangha,
 127, 128
 Āvasa, 71, 84, 122
 Āvasa-Kappa, 80

B

Bhaddā-Kundalakesa, 189
 Bhagu, 45
 Barua, 17
 Bauddhāyana, 61
 Bestiality, 21, 24, 27
 Bharadvāja, 45
 Bhikkhu, 18, 33, 36, 37, 38,
 39, 41, 46, 50, 52, 53 etc
 Bhikkhus relation with Bhik-
 khuni, 39
 Bhikkhuni, 33, 39, 47, 57 etc
 Bhikkhuni-Pātimokkha, 164,
 165, 166

Bhikkhuni-Saṅgha, 57 162,
 163, 178, 179 etc
 Bhikkhunis in the Theri
 gatha 158
 Bhikkhuni-Vibhaṅga 16,
 163, 164
 Bhikkṣu, 11, 12, 13, 52
 Bimbisara, 53, 56, 70, 163
 Brahmacharya, 2, 3, 16, 44, 45,
 49, 132
 Brahmachārin, 2, 8, 14, 15,
 16, 17, 50
 Brahmadaṇḍa, 110
 Brahmavādīn, 14, 17
 Brahmanas, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6
 Brihad-Āraṇyaka-Upa-
 niṣad, 8
 Buddha, 1, 11, 14, 41, 42, 43,
 45, 46, 48, 49 52 54, 56,
 61, etc
 Buddhadaṭṭha, 19
 Buddhaghosa, 19 42, 46, 95,
 104, 162

C

Candakālī 186, 190
 Cala, 174
 Chabbaggiya Bhikkhus and
 Bhikkhunis, 47, 92, 177
 Chandogya-Upaniṣad, 8
 Cīvarapatiggaḥapaka, 144,
 151, 152
 Confession 96, 120, 121

Convention 48
 Council of Rajagaha 75, 76
 85
 Council of Vesali, 66, 81, 82,
 153
 Creed of the Āraṇyakas and
 Upaniṣads, 6
 Cullavagga 70, 71, 86, 89, 90,
 106, 115, 150, 152, 163,
 173, 184

D

Dabba of the Mallas, 89,
 91, 153
 Daily Duties, 129
 Damage, 20, 34
 Defamation and Slander,
 20, 31
 Deussen, 16
 Devadatta, 69, 72 92, 106,
 110, 187
 Devatadhyaya, 2
 Dhammadinnā 159
 Dhammadhara, 153
 Dhaniya Kumbharakaputta,
 48
 Dharmasutras, 12 61
 Dhutangas, 60
 Dīgha-Nikāya, 110, 117, 118
 119
 Directions, 93
 Disputes and Schism, 21,
 35, 38

Dress, 145, 146, 182, 183

Drisadvatī, 2

Dukkata, 20, 26, 27, 30, 33,
34, 35, 36, 54, 62, 65, 67,
70, 91, 112, 120, 162,
166, 177

E

Ehi Bhikkhu, 66, 130

F

Food, 147, 148

Formation of the laws
46, 47

G

Gamantara-Kappa, 80

Garudhammas, 59, 160,
165, 173.

Gatha, 174

Gautama's Dhammasūtra,
16, 52, 62

Gopatha-Brahmana, 2, 45

Gotama, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54
55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62 etc.

Gotamī, 57, 58, 112, 158, 160,
174, 178

Grihasthāśrama, 3, 12

Growth of monasticism, 140,
141, 142

H

Homosexual offences, 22, 24,
27, 169

I

Inferior position of women,
159, 160, 161

I-Tsing, 56, 94

J

Jaiminiya-Brahmana, 3

Jalogipata-Kappa, 81

Jamadagni, 2.

Jataka, 115

Jatila, 51

Jain Sutras, 60

Jetavana-Vihara 57

Jivaka, 56

K

Kappahka, 160, 161

Kappiyakappiya, 95

Kappiyakaraka, 154

Kassapa, 45 50.

Kathina 66, 128, 143, 144,
145, 182, 184, 185

Kathina-vattharaka, 150

Kautilya 42

Kassapagottī, 116

Kemja, 52

Khandhakas, 18, 19, 65, 94,
112

Khema, 163

Kiccadhikarana, 100

Kisagotamī, 172, 174

L

Laws which are weak in
judicial capacity, 40

Laws for Bhikkhus, 163,
164, 165, 167, 168, 169,
170, 171

Legal procedure, 95

Licchavi, 126

M

Magadha, 56

Mānatta, 71, 103, 104, 111,
114

Mahākaccāna, 187

Mahakassapa, 75, 90, 112,
113

Mahapadana-Suttanta,
117, 119

Mahapadesa, 84, 93

Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta,
84, 86, 87, 110

Mahavagga, 51, 52, 61, 81,
118, 120

Mahāvua, 1, 123

Management of the Sangha,
148

Maia, 173, 174

Megasthenes, 62

Mendaka, 57

Metiya-Bhūmajja Bhikkhus,
116

Mihinda, 71.

Moggallāna, 43, 106, 109, 115,
128, 187

Muni, 2, 8

Murder and assault, 20, 27,
28, 29, 30

N

Nanda, 129

Nagasena, 71

Nigrodha, 118.

Nikaya, 65, 67

Nissaggiya-Pacittiya, 19, 26,
48, 82, 166

Nissaya, 52, 59, 68, 69, 71,
72, 107, 171.

Nissaya kamma, 103, 108, 111,
114, 133, 174

Ñ

Ñatti, 05, 97, 09, 143

O

Occasional duties, 130

Offences against law, 37, 169

Offences against property, 31,
32, 33, 34, 35

Offences against religion,
38, 39.

Offences against the Sangha,
35.

Officers, 149, 150, 151, 152,
153, 154, 155

Ovada, 177, 178, 179

P

Pabbajjā, 57, 131, 171, 172,
173

Pabbajaniya-kamma, 92, 103,
109, 115

- Pacittiya, 19, 20, 26, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 58, 61, 82, 106, 114, 166, 168, 169, 180
 Pakassaniya kamma, 110, 116
 Pauni, 12
 Paul Dalhke, 124
 Parajika, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 32, 38, 48, 58, 60, 64, 65, 68, 102, 165, 166, 169
 Parivara, 18, 19, 163
 Parivrajaka, Paribbajakas, 7, 8, 13, 14, 44, 52
 Parivasa, 54, 71, 103, 104, 108, 111, 114
 Pasenadi, 159, 183
 Patacarā, 159.
 Patidesaniya, 19, 166
 Patimokkha, 19, 20, 37, 56, 58, 93, 113, 117, 118, 119, 121, 130, 164, 165, 166, 176, 177, 179
 Patināya, 102
 Patissaraniya-kamma 103 109
 Patimokkha samvarasamvuto, 119
 Pavaranā, 68, 128, 142, 143, 180, 181, 182
 Pavatti, 173
 Penalty, 104 105
 Pindola Bhāradvaja, 67
 Pilindavaccha, 70
- Principles underlying trial, 96.
 Property, 155, 156, 185, 186
 Public comment, 54, 55, 56
- R**
- Rahula, 43, 129
 Revata, 91
 Rīgveda, 41, 45
 Rist, 2, 3, 7.
 Rūpiyacchadaka, 154
 Rhys Davids, 5, 9, 13, 15, 16.
 Mrs Rhys Davids, 158, 159
- S**
- Saddhivihārika, 50, 133.
 Sakadagami, 129
 Samana-Brāhmaṇa period, 1, 14
 Samantapasādikā, 19
 Samhitās, 1
 Sammukha-Vinaya, 102
 Samyutta-Nikāya, 174
 Sangha, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 43, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 62, 68 etc.
 Sanghabhatta, 151
 Sanghabheda, 98
 Sanghadisesa, 19, 20, 22, 31, 35, 58, 65, 71, 72, 103, 106, 108, 111, 162, 168, 170, 185
 Sangha-kamma, 92, 95, 97, 100, 106, 107, 143
 Sāriputta, 43, 106, 109, 112, 115, 129, 187

- Sativinaya, 102
 Sāyana 3, 41
 Sekhiya, 19 61 93, 94, 167
 Sela, 174
 Senasana-gahapaka 153
 Sexual offences, 20, 21 22 26
 167, 168 169
 Sexual offences against the
 dead 22, 24, 25, 27
 Seyyasaka, 114
 Sikkhapada 68, 118
 Sīsupacala 174
 Smṛti, 49
 Social service, 189, 190
 Soma, 174
 Sopaka, 129
 Sotapanna, 129
 Subhadda, 87, 92
 Sudinna 58
 Sundarīnandā, 186
 Suppiya 129
 Standard of punishment 110
 111
 S
 Sankha-Lakkha-Dharma
 sutra, 46
 Sankhyayana-Āraṇyaka 8
 Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, 4 5, 6
 Śramana, Samana 8 12 13,
 15, 16, 17
 T
 Tanjaniya-kamma 2
 Tanjaniya-kamma, 89, 92, 103
 107, 109 111
 Tapas, 4 8, 11
 Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka 7
 Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa, 3
 Tassapapiyyassa kamma, 102,
 111
 Technical law, 94
 Tmaṇvithāraka, 102, 104
 Tittḥiyas, 52, 53, 54, 134, 147
 Thavana pavarana, 184
 Theft, 20 31, 32, 33
 Thera, 178
 Therī, 175
 Therīgāthā, 173
 Thullaccāya, 20, 24, 29, 65,
 91, 102, 106, 112, 162, 166,
 168
 Thullananda, 183, 185, 187
 Thullatissā, 187
 Tura Kavaseya, 4
 U
 Ubbalukā, 91, 98, 102
 Uddaka Āraṇi, 5, 17
 Ukkhepaniya-kamma, 92,
 103, 109, 120
 Upacāla, 174
 Upali, 43, 91, 118, 129, 161
 Upajjhaya, 51, 81, 173
 Upanisads, 1, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11,
 12, 49
 Uppalavannā, 174, 188

Upāsaka, 184.
 Upasampadā, 130, 131, 132,
 133, 134, 171, 172.
 Uposatha, 53, 55, 56, 107,
 117, 119, 120, 121, 123,
 -130, 134, 135, 176, 180.

V

Vaddhamātā, 175
 Vajji, 126, 127.
 Vajjiputta Bhikkhus, 82
 Vajrā, 174.
 Vamaka, 45, 52.
 Vāmadeva, 2, 45.
 Vānaprasthas, 2, 8
 Vassa, 52, 55, 68, 135, 136,
 137, 138, 139, 179, 180, 181,
 182.
 Vāseṭṭha, 45
 Vasistha, 2.
 Vessāmitta, 45.
 Vibhanga, 18, 65, 163

Videhas, 126.
 Vihāra, 34, 35, 55, 68, 70 etc
 Vijayā, 174.
 Vinaya, its meaning, 41.
 Vinaya, its significance, 42, 43.
 Vinaya the theory, 92.
 Vinayadhara, 46, 89, 90, 100,
 119.
 Vinaya-Pitaka, 19, 43, 54,
 55 etc.
 Vinaya-viniccaya, 19
 Vipassi, 119.
 Visākhā Migāramātā, 57, 183,
 186.

Y

Yajna, 4, 11.
 Yājñyavalkya, 9, 10, 11.
 Yāmataggi, 45
 Yasa, 81.
 Yati, 11, 51.
 Yebhuyyasika, 102.